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Friends, Society of. London yearly meetin
= Meeting for sufferings.

TRACTS

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RELATIVE TO

THE ABORIGINES.

PUBLISHED BY DIRECTION OF

THE MEETING FOR SUFFERINGS.

FROM 1838 TO 1842.

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THE FOLLOWING TRACTS

ARE PUBLISHED BY THE MEETING FOR SUFFERINGS.

No. 1.—INFORMATION RESPECTING THE ABORIGINES IN THE BRITISH COLONIES.—1838.

No. 2.—EFFECTS OF THE INTRODUCTION OF ARDENT SPIRITS AND IMPLEMENTS OF WAR AMONGST THE NATIVES OF THE SOUTH-SEA ISLANDS AND NEW SOUTH WALES.—1839.

No. 3.—FURTHER INFORMATION RESPECTING THE ABORIGINES; containing Extracts from the Proceedings of the Meeting for Sufferings in London, and of the Committee on Indian Affairs; of the Yearly Meetings of Philadelphia and Baltimore; together with some particulars relative to the Seminole War.1839.

No. 4.—FACTS RELATIVE TO THE CANADIAN INDIANS.—1839.

No. 5.—REPORT OF THE ABORIGINES' COMMITTEE OF THE MEETING FOR SUFFERINGS FOR THE YEAR 1840; with the Address to Lord John Russell; that to Friends settling in New Colonies; and some particulars respecting the state of Aboriginal Tribes.—1840.

No. 6.—AN ADDRESS OF CHRISTIAN COUNSEL AND CAUTION TO EMIGRANTS.—1841.

No. 7.—THE REPORT OF THE MEETING FOR SUFFERINGS RESPECTING THE ABORIGINES, PRESENTED TO THE YEARLY MEETING.—1841.

No. 8.—FURTHER INFORMATION RESPECTING THE ABORIGINES; CONTAINING REPORTS OF THE COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS AT PHILADELPHIA; Extracts from the Proceedings of the Yearly Meetings of Philadelphia, New York, New England, Maryland, Virginia, and Ohio. Together with some particulars relative to the Natives of New Zealand, New Holland, and Van Dieman's Land.—1842.

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INFORMATION

RESPECTING

THE ABORIGINES

IN THE BRITISH COLONIES.

Circulated by Direction of

THE MEETING FOR SUFFERINGS.

BEING PRINCIPALLY EXTRACTS FROM

THE REPORT PRESENTED TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, BY THE

SELECT COMMITTEE APPOINTED ON THAT SUBJECT.

LONDON:
DARTON AND HARVEY,
GRACECHURCH-STREET.

1838.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY JOSEPH RICKERBY,
SHERBOURN LANE.

YEARLY MEETING, 1837.

THE following minute from the General Committee has been brought in and read: this Meeting adopts the suggestion therein contained, and desires the Meeting for Sufferings to pay close attention to the subject, and to act in it at their discretion.

"GENERAL COMMITTEE, 6 mo. 1st, 1837.—This Committee having had under its serious consideration the circumstances of the Aborigines of the British Colonial Possessions, particularly the Indians in Upper Canada, submits to the Yearly Meeting the propriety of recommending the subject to the close attention of the Meeting for Sufferings."

In consequence of the foregoing Minute of the Yearly Meeting, the Meeting for Sufferings appointed a Committee, on the subject. The attention of the Committee has been turned to the Report presented to the House of Commons at the close of the last session, on the state of the Aborigines in and near the British Settlements. This valuable document has furnished the Committee with a variety of very useful and interesting, though distressing, information on the whole subject referred to in the Yearly Meeting's Minute. They believe that they cannot at present better promote the object committed to them than by circulating generally throughout the Society extracts from this Report.

Although the mode in which evidence is generally taken by Committees of the House of Commons is not favourable to the statements offered being so interesting and attractive as they might be made, were they accompanied by all the advantages of the description of collateral circumstances and connected and minute details, yet the extensive range which the Report takes in, and the variety of testimony of an authentic character which the volumes of evidence offer, concur, with the station of those by whom the enquiry was instituted, to give to the information elicited a high degree of importance, which entitles it to the most serious attention.

The most striking fact to be deduced from the great body of evidence which has been collected is lamentable and awful. It appears that in almost every instance in which our countrymen have come in contact with the uncivilized Aborigines, in any part of the globe, they have exerted an influence which has tended powerfully to reduce the numbers and greatly to degrade the moral and physical character of the natives. In some instances absolute extinction of the natives has already taken place—in others the work is nearly completed—whilst in most of the remainder, it is proceeding with a dreadful and accelerating rapidity.

It has been said, that in these cases the natives become extinct rather than that they are exterminated; but it must be a voluntary self-delusion which can make us contented with this mode of stating the case. A numerous population cannot be cut off from the soil upon which their forefathers lived and multiplied, and upon which an exotic race of recent introduction now proves remarkably prolific, without the operation of some great and highly pernicious influence. Whether we can at once perceive it or not, its existence is incontrovertible, and it becomes the duty of Christian philanthropists, possessing the means, to seek it out, and to labour to apply if possible a prompt and efficient remedy.

For centuries the slave-trade had brought thousands of the sons of Africa to an untimely death, and devoted many thousands more to all the horrors of slavery; but whilst Africa

and the western world, as well as the intervening ocean, were thus rendered the scenes of the most revolting atrocities which human nature could perpetrate, the inhabitants of this country were generally ignorant of those events, and were consequently, regardless of the sufferings which their commerce and their luxuries occasioned. By degrees attention was awakened, all the iniquities of that infamous traffic in its various ramifications were brought to light, and the apathy of ignorance was succeeded by that almost universal expression of popular feeling which has already performed so much for the suppression of the slave-trade and the abolition of slavery, and which promises never to become extinct until the work be completed.

The sufferings of those uncivilized races, whom the civilized and nominally Christian world have sacrificed, rather than enslaved, to gratify their avarice, have in the mean time been almost totally disregarded. The inquiry which the Committee of the House of Commons has instituted, has clearly ascertained several of the causes which have concurred in producing them. In many instances the Aborigines have been reduced by wanton and wholesale murders. In some, the land which supplied them with the means of subsistence, and their corn and cattle, where they had acquired such possessions, have been taken from them. Sometimes they have been made the victims of the cruelty of other uncivilized tribes, whom our countrymen have supplied with means for invading and exterminating them. In many instances they have been injured in their property and dearest connexions, and then have paid the forfeit of their lives, when they have attempted retaliation or defence. Loathsome and fatal diseases have been introduced amongst those tribes which have shown a willingness to enter into amicable relations with our countrymen; and the diminution of their numbers which has followed has been scarcely less awful than that which has been occasioned by famine and the sword. But even the introduction of these diseases, which have caused such abundant calamities has been a less prolific source of evil than the intoxicating

liquors which have been given them in exchange for their valuable commodities. Ardent spirits, which have corrupted their morals, ruined their constitutions, and reduced whole tribes to the lowest state of wretchedness and degradation, have been made the means of carrying on a trading system of the most fraudulent description.

From the wide extent over which these transactions have been perpetrated, and from the character and situation of the individuals who have in most instances been engaged as actors, it is obvious that great difficulties must stand in the way of coming at the whole truth respecting them; greater in fact than those which it required all the courage and perseverance of the early advocates of the African cause to overcome. Still much may be done, if a general interest in the cause can be excited. The perishing races of uncivilized man present claims similar to those of the victims of the slave-trade and slavery;—and with this additional feature in their case,——they are rapidly disappearing before us; and whilst we hesitate to plead their cause, they cease to exist, and we shall inquire after them in vain.

It may not be amiss to remind Friends, that although the whole class of Aborigines to whom the preceding observations apply, loudly call for our sympathy and regard, the Aborigines of North America possess a claim of a strong and peculiar character upon our religious Society. It was with them that William Penn held that memorable treaty, in which he set an example to all succeeding colonists, in purchasing the land of its native and legitimate possessors, after having already received or purchased it from his own government. In that treaty William Penn and the Indians mutually promised each other a friendship and alliance which should continue as long as the sun and moon endure. William Penn followed up the professions which he made at that treaty, by enacting laws, not merely securing to them equal rights and protection with his imported colonists, but providing against their becoming sufferers from unfair dealing, in consequence of their inferiority in knowledge and ac-

quirements. The Indians, on their part, treated the members of our society very differently from other settlers, not only refraining from offering them any injury, but preserving their lives by supplying them with food, when they had no resources of their own to trust to.* Although the regulations enacted by William Penn, and maintained by Friends whilst the government of Pennsylvania remained with them, have been set aside since it has passed into other hands, the Indians have not ceased to maintain inviolate the friendship which they promised; and, notwithstanding the desperation produced by the horrors of war and the ruined state of their affairs, occasioned, as they well knew, by the conduct of the whites, they have not ceased to distinguish the consistent members of our Society, protecting them from injury, regarding them as brothers, and looking up to them for counsel and assistance. When William Penn's treaty was concluded, our early Friends received great advantages from it: the time has long passed since Friends had anything to hope or to fear from their red brethren, and it is now the Indians' turn to claim *all* the advantages which a treaty they have never violated, and friendship repeatedly assured to them, entitle them to expect. If it be due to them from our American fellow-members, whose forefathers were preserved by Indian kindness and hospitality; it may also be considered as in degree due from our Society in this country, as parts of the same religious body, and regarded by the Indians as one family. And, besides, with reference to the Indians within the Canadian frontier, it is manifest that if anything can be done by Friends, it must be done mainly, if not solely, by the exertions of Friends in England. A double advantage may be looked for from our exertions in this cause. First, that which may be immediately gained by Canadian Indians; and, secondly, that to be obtained by the indirect influence which may be extended to those of the Aborigines more immediately connected with our American brethren. How can

* See Clarkson's Life of William Penn, vol i. p. 357.

we encourage our Friends in any of the American Yearly Meetings, who have already devoted so much labour and pains to the subject, if we neglect the comparatively limited portion of the work which falls to our hands? Friends in America have had extraordinary difficulties to contend with, in consequence of the repeated removals effected by the policy of their government: removals which have broken up every settlement under their care as soon as the happy fruits of their instruction began to appear. The relation of such disappointments has for many years formed a conspicuous part of our correspondence with American meetings on this painfully interesting topic. If anything can now be effected by our American brethren, it must be either by individuals engaged in a most arduous work, by which they must in general be separated many hundred miles, and for a length of time from their connexions, or by remonstrances with a government which has hitherto shown no disposition to recede from this destructive policy.

The Report from which the following extracts are taken contains less information on the subject of the North American Indians than we could have wished to find in it; but some steps have been taken by the Committee, appointed by the Meeting for Sufferings, to obtain from Friends in Canada more full and accurate information respecting those Indians who have been or are intended to be removed by the agents of our Government. Two members of the Committee have also had an interview with the Secretary of State for the Colonial department, in reference to the treatment of the Indians within the limits of Upper Canada; and particularly to the highly objectionable project of the Governor, Sir Francis Bond Head, for removing them from their valuable settlements and reservations to the small rocky islands in Lake Huron, and other districts further to the north-west.* Although the Friends were assured that Go-

* The following is the substance of the information laid before Friends, at the time of the last Yearly Meeting, on this part of the subject; and it is thought that advantage may arise from re-stating it here.

vernment would pay attention to the subject, and endeavour to see the rights of the Indians respected, the fact, that measures have actually been taken to effect some of these removals, and transfer the reservations to other hands makes it but too evident that greater exertions and renewed appeals must be made, if any effectual advantage is to be obtained for the Aborigines in that quarter.

It is a great satisfaction to find that the cause of this oppressed people is now obtaining the active support of the Wesleyan Methodists in that colony.

In a letter from a member of that connexion, in Upper

It appears that, in reference to the North American Indians in Upper Canada and the adjoining territories, a process is now going forward, very similar to that which has, for a long course of years, been pursued by the United States towards the Indians on their frontier. The Indians are induced by persuasion to abandon, almost for nothing, their richest and most valuable tracts of land, (including their settlements, and the plots which have been brought under culture through the instructions of the different missionaries,) and to fall back upon districts incapable of supporting them for any long time by the chace, and greatly inferior to their old settlements for the purposes of civilized life.

The obvious motive with the executive government of Canada, for adopting this line of policy towards the Indians, is to please the white settlers around them, who complain that the Indians have all the best land in the country, and evidently wish to turn them out and take possession of it for themselves.

It appears that in the course of one year only, (1836,) the governor of Upper Canada induced the Chippeway, Ottaway, Sauger, and Huron tribes to abandon very extensive and valuable tracts of land almost without any equivalent. The Saugers, without even the pretence of a remuneration, voluntarily ceded one million five hundred thousand acres of the very best land in Upper Canada, advantageously situated, adjoining the land of the Canada Company. The Ottaways and Chippeways also, without any compensation, abandoned a vast number of islands in the northern parts of Lake Huron. The Huron tribe relinquished 6 miles square of rich land in the Thames River, in consideration of the proceeds of one-third being invested for their benefit. The Moravian Indians also, for an annuity of £150 abandoned 6 miles square of black rich land, on which there are considerable improvements and cultivated spots. And it may be remarked, in general, and more especially with reference to the two last tracts of

Canada, dated "the 26th of Sept., 1837," and addressed to one of the Committee, the following statement occurs :—

"Two days after my arrival I met all my brethren in the ministry at our annual meeting, in the proceeding and conclusion of which, we were of one mind and one heart. Among other things, we adopted a strong memorial to the Governor, Sir Francis Bond Head, on the subject of the Indian Lands and Missions, and which was some days afterwards presented to him. The Superintendent of Missions is now visiting the different stations to get the fullest information from the Indians, in writing under their own hands; and we shall, in a short time, meet Sir Francis in a manner that he does not expect."

For several reasons the larger portion of the following Extracts relates to the Aborigines of South Africa. The details furnished by Dr. Philip and other important witnesses, are particularly explicit and full. They exhibit in the clearest manner the operation of most of the causes which have concurred to bring this distress and destruction upon the Aborigines of a colonized country. They show how far the

territory, that they are not merely hunting-grounds, but, to a certain extent at least, regions in which civilization and agriculture have made some progress.

It is further proposed by the Governor to remove all these different tribes to the islands in Lake Huron, ceded (as before mentioned) to the British Government by the Chippeways and Ottaways—a measure which is manifestly calculated to defeat every hope of improving their condition, or even of preserving the actual state of those who are in any degree civilized. Many of these islands are sterile spots: granite rock covered with timber, of but little value for any purposes except hunting and fishing. Their extent varies from a few yards square to 15 miles. They are, moreover, situated so far to the north-west, that it is very doubtful whether Indian corn could be raised, even on such as might be sufficiently fertile; and should the attempt to raise this crop fail, the probable result will be incalculable suffering, and even famine itself. Yet is the permission to the several tribes of Indians to locate themselves on these islands (which have been ceded by two of the tribes) the only provision offered to the Indians, besides the small pittance of £150 a year and one-third of the proceeds of the land ceded by the Huron Indians.

Government agents themselves are led by profligate and designing settlers to give strength and activity to the most unjust and revolting measures; and moreover they exhibit in a most encouraging manner the good which may be effected by persevering and well-directed efforts, unchecked by opposition and persecution, provided ample and authentic details can be perseveringly brought under the notice of our Government. We may further learn from what has been done in Southern Africa how much the combined influence of Christianity and civilization can effect for the security as well as amelioration of the oppressed heathen. The case of the Caffres and Hottentots furnishes a bright example, as well as much encouragement to all those who may be willing to undertake the cause of other portions of the human race similarly circumstanced.

Other extracts are given having the same tendency, and showing how much the experience of those who have laboured with uncivilized tribes of various races, and in various situations, sanctions our looking for great and satisfactory results from a well-conducted combination of religious instruction, intellectual cultivation, and the introduction of the useful arts. These encouraging examples are furnished by the exertions of those belonging to other religious denominations; and although we, as a Society, do not send out teachers appointed to preach to the Heathen, we may not unprofitably put the question to ourselves, Whether we are performing all which it is our duty to do for the temporal and spiritual welfare of our oppressed and benighted fellow-creatures, in the different modes which our principles would not only sanction but enjoin.

In conclusion, we would invite the co-operation of Friends individually, and more especially direct their attention to the following points:—

The collection and diffusion of information on the subject;

The pressing on the attention of members of Parliament, colonial officers, and other persons of influence, the wrongs and claims of the injured Aborigines of our distant colonies;

The promoting, through suitable channels, the civil, moral, and religious welfare of these, our uncivilized fellow-men, equally with ourselves, the objects of Christian redemption, but many of whom are still involved in great spiritual darkness, as well as temporal misery.

For further information on the subject, the Committee may refer Friends to the Report itself from which the following extracts are taken, and an edition of which has been published by the Aborigines' Protection Society, (London: William Ball, Aldine Chambers, Paternoster Row; Hatchard and Son, Piccadilly,) and to the several volumes of evidence taken by the Committee of the House of Commons, and published amongst the Parliamentary Papers.

THE SELECT COMMITTEE "appointed to consider what Measures ought to be adopted with regard to the NATIVE INHABITANTS of Countries where BRITISH SETTLEMENTS are made, and to the neighbouring Tribes, in order to secure to them the due observance of Justice and the protection of their Rights; to promote the spread of Civilization among them, and to lead them to the peaceful and voluntary reception of the Christian Religion;" and to whom the Report of the Committee of 1836 was referred; and who were empowered to report their Observations thereupon, together with the MINUTES OF EVIDENCE taken before them, to The House;——Have examined the Matters to them referred, and have agreed to the following REPORT;

THE situation of Great Britain brings her beyond any other power into communication with the uncivilized nations of the earth. We are in contact with them in so many parts of the globe, that it has become of deep importance to ascertain the results of our relations with them, and to fix the rules of our conduct towards them. We are apt to class them under the sweeping term of savages, and perhaps, in so doing, to consider ourselves exempted from the obligations due to them as our fellow-men. This assumption does not however, it is obvious, alter our responsibility; and the question appears momentous, when we consider that the policy of Great Britain in this particular, as it has already affected the interests, and we fear we may add, sacrificed the lives, of many thousands, may yet, in all probability, influence the character and the destiny of millions of the human race.

The extent of the question will be best comprehended by taking a survey of the globe, and by observing over how much of its surface an intercourse with Britain may become the greatest blessing, or the heaviest scourge. It will scarcely be denied in word, that, as an enlightened and Christian people, we are at least bound to do to the inhabitants of other lands, whether enlightened or not, as we should in similar circumstances desire to be done by; but, beyond the obligations of common honesty, we are bound by two considerations with regard to the uncivilized: first, that of the ability which we possess to confer upon them the most important benefits; and, secondly, that of their inability to resist any encroachments, however unjust, however mischievous, which we may be disposed to make. The disparity of the parties, the strength of the one, and the incapacity of the other, to enforce the observance of their rights, constitutes a new and irresistible appeal to our compassionate protection.

The duty of introducing into our relations with uncivilized nations the righteous and the profitable laws of justice is incontro-

vertible, and it has been repeatedly acknowledged in the abstract, but has, we fear, been rarely brought into practice; for, as a nation, we have not hesitated to invade many of the rights which they hold most dear.

Thus, while Acts of Parliament have laid down the general principles of equity, other and conflicting Acts have been framed, disposing of lands without any reference to the possessors and actual occupants, and without making any reserve of the proceeds of the property of the natives for their benefit.

Reference is then made to several declarations of the British Government, both in former and more modern times, proclaiming in terms a more just and Christian course of procedure towards the Aborigines.

In furtherance of these views, your Committee was appointed to examine into the actual state of our relations with uncivilized nations; and it is from the evidence brought before this Committee during the last two Sessions, that we are enabled to compare our actions with our avowed principles, and to show what has been, and what will assuredly continue to be, unless strongly checked, the course of our conduct towards these defenceless people.

It is not too much to say, that the intercourse of Europeans in general, without any exception in favour of the subjects of Great Britain, has been, unless when attended by missionary exertions, a source of many calamities to uncivilized nations.

Too often, their territory has been usurped; their property seized; their numbers diminished; their character debased; the spread of civilization impeded. European vices and diseases have been introduced amongst them, and they have been familiarized with the use of our most potent instruments for the subtle or the violent destruction of human life, viz. brandy and gunpowder.

It will be only too easy to make out the proof of all these assertions which may be established solely by the evidence above referred to. It will be easy also to show that the result to ourselves has been as contrary to our interest as to our duty; that our system has not only incurred a vast load of crime, but a vast expenditure of money and amount of loss.

On the other hand, we trust it will not be difficult to show by inference, and even to prove, by the results of some few experiments of an opposite course of conduct, that setting aside all considerations of duty, a line of policy, more friendly and just towards the natives, would materially contribute to promote the civil and commercial interests of Great Britain.

It is difficult to form an estimate of the population of the less civilized nations, liable to be influenced for good or for evil, by contact and intercourse with the more civilized nations of the earth. It would appear that the barbarous regions likely to be more imme-

diately affected by the policy of Great Britain, are the south and the west of Africa, Australia, the islands in the Pacific Ocean, a very extensive district of South America at the back of our Essequibo settlement, between the rivers Orinoco and Amazon, with the immense tract which constitutes the most northerly part of the American continent, and stretches from the Pacific to the Atlantic Ocean.

These are countries in which we have either planted colonies, or which we frequent for the purposes of traffic, and it is our business to inquire on what principles we have conducted our intercourse.

It might be presumed that the native inhabitants of any land have an incontrovertible right to their own soil: a plain and sacred right, however, which seems not to have been understood. Europeans have entered their borders uninvited, and, when there, have not only acted as if they were undoubted lords of the soil, but have punished the natives as aggressors if they have evinced a disposition to live in their own country.

"If they have been found upon their own property, they have been treated as thieves and robbers. They are driven back into the interior as if they were dogs or kangaroos."

From very large tracts we have, it appears, succeeded in eradicating them; and though from some parts their ejection has not been so apparently violent as from others, it has been equally complete, through our taking possession of their hunting-grounds, whereby we have despoiled them of the means of existence.

NEWFOUNDLAND.

To take a review of our colonies, beginning with Newfoundland. There, as in other parts of North America, it seems to have been for a length of time accounted a "meritorious act" to kill an Indian.*

On our first visit to that country the natives were seen in every part of the coast. We occupied the stations where they used to hunt and fish, thus reducing them to want, while we took no trou-

* Cotton Mather records, that, amongst the early settlers, it was considered a "religious act to kill Indians."

A similar sentiment prevailed amongst the Dutch boors in South Africa with regard to the natives of the country. Mr. Barrow writes, "A farmer thinks he cannot proclaim a more meritorious action than the murder of one of these people. A boor from Graaf Reinet being asked in the secretary's office, a few days before we left town, if the savages were numerous, or troublesome on the road, replied, 'he had only shot four,' with as much composure and indifference as if he had been speaking of four partridges. I myself have heard one of the humane colonists boast of having destroyed, with his own hands, near 300 of these unfortunate wretches."

ble to indemnify them, so that doubtless many of them perished by famine; we also treated them with hostility and cruelty, and "many were slain by our own people as well as by the Micmac Indians," who were allowed to harass them. They must, however, have been recently very numerous, since in one place Captain Buchan found they had "run up fences to the extent of 30 miles," with a variety of ramifications, for the purpose of conducting the deer down to the water, a work which would have required the labour of a multitude of hands.

It does not appear that any measures were taken to open a communication with them before the year 1810, when, by order of Sir J. Duckworth, an attempt was made by Captain Buchan which proved ineffectual. At that time he conceived that their numbers around their chief place of resort, the Great Lake, were reduced to 400 or 500. Under our treatment they continued rapidly to diminish; and it appears probable that the last of the tribe left at large, a man and a woman, were shot by two Englishmen in 1823. Three women had been taken prisoners shortly before, and they died in captivity. In the colony of Newfoundland it may therefore be stated that we have exterminated the natives.

NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS.

The general account of our intercourse with the North American Indians, as distinct from missionary efforts, may be given in the words of a converted Chippeway chief, in a letter to Lord Goderich: "We were once very numerous, and owned all Upper Canada, and lived by hunting and fishing; but the white men, who came to trade with us, taught our fathers to drink the fire-waters, which has made our people poor and sick, and has killed many tribes, till we have become very small."

It is a curious fact, noticed in the evidence, that some years ago the Indians practised agriculture, and were able to bring corn to our settlements, then suffering from famine; but we, by driving them back and introducing the fur trade, have rendered them so completely a wandering people that they have very much lost any disposition which they might once have felt to settle. All writers on the Indian race have spoken of them in their native barbarism as a noble people, but those who live among civilized men, upon reservations in our own territory, are now represented as "reduced to a state which resembles that of gypsies in this country." Those who live in villages among the whites "are a very degraded race, and look more like dram-drinkers than people it would be possible to get to do any work."

To enter however into a few more particulars. The Indians of New Brunswick are described by Sir H. Douglas, in 1825, as "dwindled in numbers," and in a "wretched condition."

Those of Nova Scotia, the Micmacs (by Sir J. Kempt,) as disinclined to settle, and in the habit of bartering their furs, "unhappily for rum."

General Darling's statement as to the Indians of the Canadas, drawn up in 1828, speaks of the interposition of the Government being urgently called for in behalf of the helpless individuals whose landed possessions, where they have any assigned to them, are daily plundered by their designing and more enlightened white brethren.

Of the Algonquins and Nipissings, General Darling writes, "Their situation is becoming alarming, by the rapid settlement and improvement of the lands on the banks of the Ottawa, on which they were placed by Government in the year 1763, and which tract they have naturally considered as their own. The result of the present state of things is obvious, and such as can scarcely fail in time to be attended with bloodshed and murder; for, driven from their own resources, they will naturally trespass on those of other tribes, who are equally jealous of the intrusion of their red brethren as of white men. Complaints on this head are increasing daily, while the threats and admonitions of the officers of the department have been insufficient to control the unruly spirit of the savage, who, driven by the calls of hunger and the feelings of nature towards his offspring, will not be scrupulous in invading the rights of his brethren, as a means of alleviating his misery, when he finds the example in the conduct of his White Father's children practised, as he conceives, towards himself."

The General also speaks of the "degeneracy" of the Iroquois, and of the degraded condition of most of the other tribes, with the exception of those only who had received Christian instruction. Later testimony is to the same effect. The Rev. J. Beecham, Secretary to the Wesleyan Missionary Society, says he has conversed with the Chippeway chief above referred to, on the condition of the Indians on the boundary of Upper Canada. That he stated most unequivocally that previously to the introduction of Christianity they were rapidly wasting away; and he believed that, if it had not been for the introduction of Christianity, they would speedily have become extinct. As to the causes of this waste of Indian life, he mentioned the decrease of the game, the habit of intoxication, and the European diseases. The small-pox had made great ravages. He adds, "The information which I have derived from this chief has been confirmed by our missionaries stationed in Upper Canada, and who are now employed among the Indian tribes on the borders of that province. My inquiries have led me to believe, that where Christianity has not been introduced among the aboriginal inhabitants of Upper Canada, they are melting away before the advance of the white population. This remark applies to the Six Nations, as they are called, on the Great River, the Mohawks, Onedias, Onondages, Senecas, Cayugas and Tuscaroras, as well as to all the other tribes

on the borders of the province." Of the ulterior tribes, the account given by Mr. King, who accompanied Capt. Back in his late Arctic expedition, is deplorable; he gives it as his opinion, that the Northern Indians have decreased greatly, and "decidedly from contact with the Europeans."

Thus, the Cree Indians, once a powerful tribe, "have now degenerated into a few families, congregated about the European establishments, while some few still retain their ancient rights, and have become partly allies of a tribe of Indians that were once their slaves." He supposes their numbers to have been reduced within 30 or 40 years from 8,000 or 10,000 to 200, or at most 300, and has no doubt of the remnant being extirpated in a short time, if no measures are taken to improve their morals and to cultivate habits of civilization. It should be observed that this tribe had access to posts not comprehended within the Hudson's Bay Company's prohibition, as to the introduction of spirituous liquors, and that they miserably show the effects of the privilege.

The Copper Indians also, through ill-management, intemperance and vice, are said to have decreased within the last five years to one half the number of what they were.

The early quarrels between the Hudson's Bay and the North West Companies, in which the Indians were induced to take a bloody part, furnished them with a ruinous example of the savageness of Christians. Mr. Pelly, the chairman of the Hudson's Bay Company has, however, assured your Committee, that many of the evils caused by the rivalry of the two companies have been removed by their junction, and that the present directors are well disposed to promote the welfare of the Indians: yet we observe, that the witness above quoted, Mr. King, who has travelled in the country, is of opinion, that even our system of peaceable trade has a tendency to become injurious to these people, by encouraging them in improvident habits, which frequently bring large parties of them to utter destitution and to death by starvation.

But whatever may be the actual condition of the Indians at the present moment, on which subject there appears to be some diversity of testimony, we entirely concur in the wisdom, the humanity, and the right feeling which dictated the following paragraph:—

It appears to me that the course which has hitherto been taken in dealing with these people has had reference to the advantages which might be derived from their friendship in times of war, rather than to any settled purpose of gradually reclaiming them from a state of barbarism, and of introducing amongst them the industrious and peaceful habits of civilized life. Under the peculiar circumstances of the times, it may have been originally difficult to pursue a more enlightened course of policy; the system may, perhaps, have been persisted in by the Home and Colonial Governments rather as a matter of routine than upon any well considered grounds of preference, whilst, on the part of the Indians themselves, there is no doubt that its accordance with their natural propensities and with their long established

habits rendered it more acceptable to them than any other, nor is it unlikely that, if on the one hand there existed a disposition in the aboriginal inhabitants to cling to their original habits and mode of life, there was a proneness also in the occupants of America to regard the natives as an irreclaimable race, and as inconvenient neighbours, whom it was desirable ultimately wholly to remove. Whatever may have been the reasons which have hitherto recommended an adherence to the present system, I am satisfied that it ought not to be persisted in for the future; and that so enlarged a view of the nature of our connexions with the Indian tribes should be taken as may lead to the adoption of proper measures for their future preservation and improvement; whilst, at the same time, the obligations of moral duty and sound policy should not be lost sight of.

SOUTH AMERICA.

In South America, British Guiana occupies a large extent of country between the rivers Orinoco and Amazons, giving access to numbers of tribes of Aborigines who wander over the vast regions of the interior. The Indian population within the colony Demerara and Essequibo, is derived from four nations, the Caribs, Arawacks, Warrows, and Accaways.

It is acknowledged that they have been diminishing ever since the Brtish came into possession of the colony. In 1831 they were computed at 5,096; and it is stated "it is the opinion of old inhabitants of the colony, and those most competent to judge, that a considerable diminution has taken place in the aggregate number of the Indians of late years, and that the diminution, although gradual, has become more sensibly apparent within the last eight or ten years." The diminution is attributed, in some degree, to the increased use of rum amongst them.

There are in the colony six gentlemen bearing the title of "Protectors of Indians," whose office it is to superintend the tribes, and under them are placed Post-holders, a principal part of whose business it is to keep the Negroes from resorting to the Indians, and also to attend the distribution of the presents which are given to the latter by the British Government, of which, as was noticed with reprehension by Lord Goderich, rum formed a part.

It does not appear that anything has been done by Government for their moral or religious improvement, excepting the grant in 1831, by Sir B. D'Urban, of a piece of land at Point Bartica, where a small establishment was then founded by the Church Missionary Society. The Moravian Mission on the Courantin was given up in 1817; and it does not appear that any other Protestant Society has attended to these Indians.

In 1831 Lord Goderich writes, "I have not heard of any effort to convert the Indians of British Guiana to Christianity, or to impart to them the arts of social life."

It should be observed that no injunctions to communicate either are given in the instructions for the "Protectors of Indians," or in

those for the Post-holders; and two of the articles of the latter, (Art. 14 and Art. 15,) tend directly to sanction and encourage immorality. All reports agree in stating that these tribes have been almost wholly neglected, are retrograding, and are without provision for their moral or civil advancement; and with due allowance for the extenuating remarks on the poor account to which they turned their lands, when they had them, and the gifts (baneful gifts some of them) which have been distributed, and on the advantage of living under British laws, we must still concur in the sentiment of Lord Goderich, as expressed in the same letter, upon a reference as to sentence of death passed upon a native Indian for the murder of another. "It is a serious consideration that we have subjected these tribes to the penalties of a code of which they unavoidably live in profound ignorance; they have not even that conjectural knowledge of its provisions which would be suggested by the precepts of religion, if they had even received the most elementary instruction in the Christian faith. They are brought into acquaintance with civilized life, not to partake its blessings, but only to feel the severity of its penal sanctions.

"A debt is due to the aboriginal inhabitants of British Guiana of a very different kind from that which the inhabitants of Christendom may, in a certain sense, be said to owe in general to other barbarous tribes. The whole territory which has been occupied by Europeans, on the Northern shores of the South American Continent, has been acquired by no other right than that of superior power; and I fear that the natives whom we have dispossessed, have to this day received no compensation for the loss of the lands on which they formerly subsisted. However urgent is the duty of economy in every branch of the public service, it is impossible to withhold from the natives of the country the inestimable benefit which they would derive from appropriating to their religious and moral instruction some moderate part of that income which results from the culture of the soil to which they or their fathers had an indisputable title."

CARIBS.

Of the Caribs, the native inhabitants of the West Indies, we need not speak, as of them little more remains than the tradition that they once existed.*

NEW HOLLAND.

The inhabitants of New Holland, in their original condition,

* When these islands were first discovered by Columbus, the inhabitants were very numerous; and even when by a treaty between the French and English, in 1660, they were confined to the islands of Dominica and St. Vincent, they amounted to not less than 6000 persons. —See Encycl. Britannica, Art. Caribee Islands.

have been described by travellers as the most degraded of the human race; but it is to be feared that intercourse with Europeans has cast over their original debasement a yet deeper shade of wretchedness.

These people, unoffending as they were towards us, have, as might have been expected, suffered in an aggravated degree from the planting amongst them of our penal settlements. In the formation of these settlements it does not appear that the territorial rights of the natives were considered, and very little care has since been taken to protect them from the violence or the contamination of the dregs of our countrymen.

The effects have consequently been dreadful beyond example, both in the diminution of their numbers and in their demoralization.

Many deeds of murder and violence have undoubtedly been committed by the stock-keepers (convicts in the employ of farmers in the outskirts of the colony,) by the cedar-cutters, and by other remote free settlers, and many natives have perished by the various military parties sent against them; but it is not to violence only that their decrease is ascribed. This is the evidence given by Bishop Broughton: "They do not so much retire as decay; whenever Europeans meet with them they appear to wear out, and gradually to decay: they diminish in numbers; they appear actually to vanish from the face of the earth. I am led to apprehend that within a very limited period, a few years," (adds the Bishop,) "those who are most in contact with Europeans will be utterly extinct—I will not say exterminated—but they will be extinct."

As to their moral condition, the Bishop says of the natives around Sydney, "They are in a state which I consider one of extreme degradation and ignorance; they are, in fact, in a situation much inferior to what I supposed them to have been before they had any communication with Europe." And again, in his charge, "It is an awful, it is even an appalling consideration, that, after an intercourse of nearly half a century with a Christian people, these hapless human beings continue to this day in their original benighted and degraded state. I may even proceed farther, so far as to express my fears that our settlement in their country has even deteriorated a condition of existence, than which, before our interference, nothing more miserable could easily be conceived. While, as the contagion of European intercourse has extended itself among them, they gradually lose the better properties of their own character, they appear in exchange to acquire none but the most objectionable and degrading of ours."

The natives about Sydney and Paramatta are represented as in a state of wretchedness still more deplorable than those resident in the interior.

"Those in the vicinity of Sydney are so completely changed, they scarcely have the same pursuits now; they go about the streets begging their bread, and begging for clothing and rum. From the

diseases introduced among them, the tribes in immediate connection with those large towns almost became extinct; not more than two or three remained, when I was last in New South Wales, of tribes which formerly consisted of 200 or 300."

Dr. Laing, the minister of the Scotch church, writes, "From the prevalence of infanticide, from intemperance and from European diseases, their number is evidently and rapidly diminishing in all the older settlements of the colony, and in the neighbourhood of Sydney especially, they present merely the shadow of what were once numerous tribes." Yet even now "he thinks their number within the limits of the colony of New South Wales cannot be less than 10,000: an indication of what must once have been the population, and what the destruction. It is only, Dr. Laing observes, through the influence of Christianity, brought to bear upon the natives by the zealous exertions of devoted missionaries, that the progress of extinction can be checked."

The case of these people has not been wholly overlooked at home. In 1825 His Majesty issued instructions to the Governor to the effect that they should be protected in the enjoyment of their possessions, preserved from violence and injustice, and that measures should be taken for their conversion to the Christian faith, and their advancement in civilization. An allowance has been made to the Church Missionary Society in their behalf, and efforts for their amelioration have been made, and attended with some degree of utility; but much as we rejoice in this act of justice, we still must express our conviction that if we are ever able to make atonement to the remnant of this people, it will require no slight attention, and no ordinary sacrifices on our part to compensate the evil association which we have inflicted; but even hopelessness of making reparation for what is past would not in any way lessen our obligation to stop, as far as in us lies, the continuance of iniquity. "The evil," said Mr. Coates, "resulting from immoral intercourse between the Europeans and the Aborigines, is so enormous that it appears to my mind a moral obligation on the local Government to take any practicable measures in order to put an end to it."

In this opinion the Committee entirely concur.

A new colony is about to be established in South Australia, and it deserves to be placed upon record, that Parliament, as lately as August 1834, passed an Act disposing of the lands of this country without once adverting to the native population. With this remarkable exception, we have had satisfaction in observing the preliminary measures for the formation of this settlement, which appears, if we may judge from the Report of the Colonial Commissioners, likely to be undertaken in a better spirit than any such enterprises that have come before our notice. The Commissioners acknowledge that it is "a melancholy fact, which admits of no dispute, and which cannot be too deeply deplored, that the native tribes of Australia have hitherto been exposed to injustice and

cruelty in their intercourse with Europeans;" and they lay down certain regulations to remedy these evils in the proposed settlement.*

On the western coast of Australia collisions have not unfrequently taken place between the colonists and the natives. * * * *

We find the natives on the Murray River mentioned as amongst the most troublesome in this quarter; and in the summer of the year 1834 they murdered a British soldier, having in the course of the previous five years killed three other persons. In the month of October 1834 Sir James Stirling, the Governor, proceeded with a party of horse to the Murray River, in search of the tribe in question. On coming up with them, it appears that the British horse charged this tribe without any parley, and killed fifteen of them, not, as it seems, confining their vengeance to the actual murderers. After the rout, the women who had been taken prisoners were dismissed, having been informed, "that the punishment had been inflicted because of the misconduct of the tribe; that the white men never forget to punish murder; that on this occasion the women and children had been spared; but if any other person should be killed by them, not one would be allowed to remain on this side of the mountains."

However needful it may be to overawe the natives from committing acts of treachery, we cannot understand the principle of such indiscriminate punishment, nor approve of threats extending to the destruction of women and children. * * * *

We are however happy to learn that, in his general policy, Sir James Stirling has pursued conciliatory measures towards the neighbouring tribes, and that measures are in progress for effecting their civilization.

VAN DIEMEN'S LAND.

The natives of Van Diemen's Land, first, it appears, provoked by the British colonists, whose early atrocities, and whose robberies of their wives and children, excited a spirit of indiscriminate vengeance, became so dangerous, though diminished to a very small number, that their remaining in their own country was deemed incompatible with the safety of the settlement.

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* Had such a course of conciliation been followed in the establishing of the colony at Raffles Bay, on the northern shore of Australia, it is probable that the "hostility of the natives" would never have been among the reasons for the abandonment of that settlement. It is said, that on the trifling offence of the theft of an axe, the sentinels were ordered to fire at the natives whenever they approached. Captain Barker, in command when the order came for the abandonment of the settlement, had pursued a different course, and had won their confidence; and, it is said, that, far from being such "untameable savages as originally represented, they proved themselves to be a mild and merciful race of people."—*See* Wilson's Voyage.

In their case, it must be remembered, the strongest desire was felt by the Government at home, and responded to by the local Governor, to protect and conciliate them; and yet, such was the unfortunate nature of our policy, and the circumstances into which it had brought us, that no better expedient could be devised than the catching and expatriating of the whole of the native population. There is no doubt that the outrages of the Aborigines were fearful; but while the local "Aborigines' Committee," in 1831, who recommended the removal, speak of the "forbearance" exercised both by the Government and the greater part of the community, they state that there is the "strongest feeling amongst the settlers, that so long as the natives have only land to traverse, so long will life and every thing valuable to them be kept in a state of jeopardy;" and they intimate their fear that if the measure recommended be not adopted, "the result will be that the whites will individually or in small bodies take violent steps against the Aborigines, a proceeding which they cannot contemplate the possibility of without horror; but which, they do believe, has many supporters in this colony:" they therefore urge the removal under the "persuasion that such a measure alone will have the effect of preventing the calamities which His Majesty's subjects have for so long a period suffered, and of preventing the entire destruction of the Aborigines themselves."

The Governor Colonel Arthur's words on the subject are these: "Undoubtedly the being reduced to the necessity of driving a simple, but warlike, and, as it now appears, noble-minded race from their native hunting-grounds, is a measure in itself so distressing, that I am willing to make almost any prudent sacrifice that may tend to compensate for the injuries that the Government is unwillingly and unavoidably made the instrument of inflicting."

The removal accordingly proceeded under the management of Mr. Robinson; (which is described by Colonel Arthur as able and humane) and in September 1834 it was so nearly effected, that the Governor writes thus: "The whole of the aboriginal inhabitants of Van Diemen's Land (excepting four persons) are now domiciliated, with their own consent, on Flinder's Island."

From still later reports it appears that not a single native now remains upon Van Diemen's Land. Thus, nearly, has the event been accomplished which was thus predicted and deprecated by Sir G. Murray:—

The great decrease which has of late years taken place in the amount of the aboriginal population, render it not unreasonable to apprehend that the whole race of these people may at no distant period become extinct. But with whatever feelings such an event may be looked forward to by those of the settlers who have been sufferers by the collisions which have taken place, it is impossible not to contemplate such a result of our occupation of the island as one very difficult to be reconciled with feelings of humanity, or even with principles of justice and sound policy; and the adoption of any line of

conduct, having for its avowed or secret object the extinction of the native race, could not fail to leave an indelible stain upon the British Government.

ISLANDS IN THE PACIFIC.

We next turn our view to those islands in the Pacific Ocean to which we resort for purposes of traffic, without having planted colonies upon them; and again we must repeat our belief that our penal colonies have been the inlet of incalculable mischief to this whole quarter of the world. It will be hard, we think, to find compensation not only to Australia, but to New Zealand and to the innumerable islands of the South Seas, for the murders, the misery, the contamination which we have brought upon them. Our runaway convicts are the pests of savage as well as of civilized society; so are our runaway sailors; and the crews of our whaling vessels, and of the traders from New South Wales, too frequently act in the most reckless and immoral manner when at a distance from the restraints of justice: in proof of this we need only refer to the evidence of the missionaries.

It is stated that there have been not less than 150 or 200 runaways at once on the island of New Zealand, counteracting all that was done for the moral improvement of the people, and teaching them every vice. * * * *

The lawless conduct of the crews of vessels must necessarily have an injurious effect on our trade, and on that ground alone demands investigation. In the month of April 1834, Mr. Busby states there were 29 vessels at one time in the Bay of Islands, and that seldom a day passed without some complaint being made to him of the most outrageous conduct on the part of their crews, which he had not the means of repressing, since these reckless seamen totally disregarded the usages of their own country and the unsupported authority of the British resident.

Till lately the tattooed heads of New Zealanders were sold at Sydney as objects of curiosity; and Mr. Yate says he has known people give property to a chief for the purpose of getting them to kill their slaves, that they might have some heads to take to New South Wales. * * * *

The Committee next advert to the pernicious effects of the crews of merchant vessels upon the natives.

The Rev. J. Williams, missionary in the Society Islands, states "that it is the common sailors, and the lowest order of them, the very vilest of the whole, who will leave their ship and go to live amongst the savages, and take with them all their low habits and all their vices." The captains of merchant vessels are apt to con-

nive at the absconding of such worthless sailors, and the atrocities perpetrated by them are excessive; they do incalculable mischief by circulating reports injurious to the interests of trade. On an island between the Navigator's and the Friendly group, he heard there were on one occasion 100 sailors who had run away from shipping. Mr. Williams gives an account of a gang of convicts who stole a small vessel from New South Wales, and came to Raiatia, one of the Sandwich Islands, where he resided, representing themselves as shipwrecked marines. Mr. Williams suspected them, and told them he should inform the Governor, Sir T. Brisbane, of their arrival, on which they went away to an island 20 miles off, and were received with every kindness in the house of the chief. They took an opportunity of stealing a boat belonging to the missionary of the station, and made off again. The natives immediately pursued, and desired them to return their missionary's boat. Instead of replying, they discharged a blunderbuss that was loaded with cooper's rivets, which blew the head of one man to pieces; they then killed two more, and a fourth received the contents of a blunderbuss in his hand, fell from exhaustion amongst his mutilated companions, and was left as dead. This man, and a boy who had saved himself by diving, returned to their island. "The natives were very respectable persons, and had it not been that we were established in the estimation of the people, our lives would have been sacrificed. The convicts then went in the boat down to the Navigator's Islands, and there entered with savage ferocity into the wars of the savages. One of these men was the most savage monster that ever I heard of: he boasted of having killed 300 natives with his own hands." Had Mr. Williams been invested with authority, he could have confined these men on their arrival and prevented their further crimes. * * * *

And in June 1833, Mr. Thomas still speaks of the mischief done by ill-disposed captains of whalers, who, he says, "send the refuse of their crews on shore to annoy us;" and proceeds to state that the conduct of many of those "masters of South Sea whalers is most abominable; they think no more of the life of an heathen than of a dog. And their cruel and wanton behaviour at the different islands in those seas has a powerful tendency to lead the natives to hate the sight of a white man." Mr. Williams mentions "one of these captains, who with his people had shot 20 natives, at one of the islands, for no offence;" and "another master of a whaler from Sydney, made his boast, last Christmas, at Tonga, that he had killed about 20 black fellows,—for so he called the natives of the Samoa, or Navigator's Islands,—for some very trifling offence; and not satisfied with that, he designed to disguise his vessel, and pay them another visit, and get about a hundred more of them." "Our hearts," continues Mr. Thomas, "almost bleed for the poor Samoa people; they are a very mild, inoffensive race, very easy of

access; and as they are near to us, we have great hope of their embracing the truth, viz., that the whole group will do so: for you will learn from Mr. Williams's letter, that a part of them have already turned to God. But the conduct of our English savages has a tone of barbarity and cruelty in it which was never heard of or practised by them."

It is impossible but that such conduct should bring retaliation; and unfortunately the natives do not always discriminate between the innocent and the guilty; so that occasionally crews just arrived are liable to suffer for the misdemeanors of their predecessors. We believe, however, that to almost all of these cases may be applied the declaration made by a missionary respecting some which occurred in New Zealand: "Not one case has ever come under my own observation, never under any circumstances, but what the Europeans have been the aggressors, or have committed some breach in a known New Zealand law; though I will say that the natives have not always punished the right, that is, the offending party."

"We have scarcely ever," says Mr. Ellis, "inquired into a quarrel between the natives and the Europeans in which it has not been found to have originated either in violence towards the females, or in injustice in traffic or barter on the part of the Europeans."

We have felt it our duty to advert to these glaring atrocities, perpetrated by British subjects, but we must repeat that acts of this nature form but the least part of the injuries which we have inflicted on the South Sea islanders. The effects of our violence are as nothing compared to the diffusive knowledge of moral evil which we have introduced; and many as are the lives of natives known to have been sacrificed by the hands of Europeans, the sum of these is treated as bearing but a trifling proportion to the mortality occasioned by the demoralization of the natives. * * * *

On this subject, the moral effect of the intercourse of Europeans in general with these people, savages and cannibals as they were before we visited them, Mr. Williams adds his testimony: "I should say, with few exceptions, that it is decidedly detrimental, both in a moral and civil point of view. And, in attempting to introduce Christianity among a people, I would rather by far go to an island where they had never seen an European, than go to a place after they have had intercourse with Europeans. I had ten times rather meet them in their savage state, than after they have had intercourse with Europeans."

SOUTH AFRICA.

In the beginning of the last century, the European colony in Africa was confined to within a few miles of Cape Town. From that period it has advanced, till it now includes more square miles than are to be found in England, Scotland and Ireland; and with

regard to the natives of great part of this immense region, it is stated, "any traveller who may have visited the interior of this colony little more than 20 years ago, may now stand on the heights of Albany, or in the midst of a district of 42,000 square miles on the north side of Graaff Reinet, and ask the question: Where are the aboriginal inhabitants of this district which I saw here on my former visit to this country, without any one being able to inform him where he is to look for them to find them."

The disappearance of the former possessors of this immense region cannot, indeed, be accounted for in a few sentences, but we will endeavour to give a brief sketch of the fate of some of the tribes who have held possession of South Africa, premising that the Aborigines of this country may be classed under two distinct races, Hottentots and Caffres.

The first are divided into two branches, the "tame" or colonial Hottentots, and the wild Hottentots or Bushmen. To the Hottentots belong the Corannas, Gonaquas and the mixed tribe of Griquas. The appellation Caffres, though sometimes still applied in a more extensive sense, is generally used in the Cape colony to denote the three contiguous tribes of Amakosa, Amatembee and Amaponda. Tambookies is a name the English have given to the Amatembee. Mambookies is our English name for the Amaponda, and the Amakosa comprehend the tribe under the family of Gaika, and who inhabit the country between the Kei and the Keiskamma, and lie nearest to this colony, along the chain of mountains stretching from the sources of the Kat river to the sea.

When the Cape was discovered by the Portuguese, the Hottentots were both numerous and rich in cattle. It was observed of them, that they kept the law of nations better than most civilized people. The Dutch formed their first settlement at the Cape in 1652, and their Governor, Van Reibeck, gives vent in his journal to a very natural sentiment, and one which we fear has been too prevalent with succeeding colonists, when he describes himself as looking from the mud walls of his fortress on the cattle of the natives, and wondering at the ways of Providence, which could bestow such very fine gifts on Heathen.

In the same spirit are the following entries;—

December 13th, 1652.—"To-day the Hottentots came with thousands of cattle and sheep close to our fort, so that their cattle nearly mixed with ours. We feel vexed to see so many head of fine cattle, and not to be able to buy to any considerable extent. If it had been indeed allowed, we had opportunity to-day to deprive them of 10,000 head, which, however, if we obtain orders to that effect can be done at any time, and even more conveniently, because they will have greater confidence in us. With 150 men, 10,000 or 11,000 head of black cattle might be obtained without danger of losing one man; and many savages might be taken without resistance, in order to be sent as slaves to India, as they still always come to us unarmed."

December 18th.—"To-day the Hottentots came again with thou-

sands of cattle close to the fort. If no further trade is to be expected with them, what would it matter much to take at once 6,000 or 8,000 beasts from them? There is opportunity enough for it, as they are not strong in number, and very timid; and since not more than two or three men often graze a thousand cattle close to our cannon, who might be easily cut off, and as we perceive they place every confidence in us, we allure them still with show of friendship to make them the more confident. It is vexatious to see so much cattle, so necessary for the refreshment of the Honourable Company's ships, of which it is not every day that any can be obtained by friendly trade."

The system of oppression thus begun never slackened till the Hottentot nation were cut off, and the small remnant left were reduced to abject bondage. From all the accounts we have seen respecting the Hottentot population, it could not have been less than 200,000, but at present they are said to be only 32,000 in number.

When the English took possession of the Cape, they found them the actual, though not the nominal, slaves of the boors, and after some feeble efforts on their part for emancipation, as such we suffered the boors to retain them.

The law of passes, by subjecting the Hottentots to "rigorous control in moving from one place to another," did indeed much towards rivetting their chains, as it had the effect of placing them under the control of any inhabitants of the colony, who never wanted frivolous pretexts to detain them at compulsory and unpaid labour.

Every obstacle continued to be opposed to their civil or moral advancement, and as late as 1828, we find it stated in the law passed by General Bourke for their relief, that doubts existed upon the competency of the Hottentots and other free persons of colour (the recent possessors, be it remembered, of the whole soil) to purchase or possess land in the colony.

All parties agree in their account of the state of the Hottentots before the passing of the 50th Ordinance, a measure of admirable justice, by which their freedom was declared and their civil rights were recognised. These are the words of Colonel Wade:—

I do not consider it requisite to enter into any detailed history of the state of utter degradation from which the 50th Ordinance was intended to rescue the Hottentots and other free persons of colour: suffice it to say, that, from all I have been able to learn, the state of the slaves was a thousand times preferable, in every point of view, to that of this unhappy race, who, amounting at the very least to a fourth part of the whole free population of the settlement, were held in the most degrading thraldom by their fellow-subjects, at the same time that both Dutch and English Governments over and over again admitted, and, by the strangest of all inconsistencies, admitted it in the very Proclamations and Ordinances in which the compulsory servitude was provided for, that 'the Hottentots were a free people.' From the withering effects of this bondage (in truth, I know not how

to designate so monstrous an anomaly,) the 50th Ordinance was intended to emancipate them. * * * *

Besides the subjected Hottentots, there were other Africans of the same or of kindred tribes, who were early designated under the term Bushmen, from their disdaining to become bondsmen, and choosing rather to obtain a precarious subsistence in the fields or forests. From their fastnesses, they were apt to carry on a predatory warfare against the oppressors of their race, and in return were hunted down like wild beasts. This state of things is thus described by Captain Stockenstrom: —

The white colonists having, from the first commencement of the settlement, gradually encroached on the territory of the natives, whose ejectment (as is too well known) was accompanied with great injustice, cruelty and bloodshed, the most hostile feelings were entertained by the weaker party towards those whom they considered as their oppressors. The Aborigines who did not become domesticated (as it was called) like the Hottentots, seeing no chance of retaining or recovering their country, withdrew into the interior as the whites advanced, and being driven to depredations by the diminution of the game, which constituted their principal means of subsistence, and which gradually disappeared when more constantly hunted, and as the waters became permanently occupied by the new comers, they often made desperate attacks upon the latter, and in their turn were guilty of great atrocities. Some of the rulers of the colony in those days were, no doubt, favourable to measures of conciliation, but the evil soon got beyond their power of control. In proportion as the pastoral population increased, more and more land was taken possession of, and more desperate and bloody became the deeds of revenge on both sides, until the extermination of the enemy appeared even to the Government the only safe alternative, at least it became its avowed object, as the encouragement given to the hostile expeditions, the rewards of the successful commanders of the same, and many documents still extant clearly demonstrate. The contest being beyond comparison unequal, the colonial limits widened with great rapidity. A thin white population soon sprend even over the great chains of the Suven and Newveld mountains, whilst the hordes who preferred a precarious and often starving independence to servitude, were forced into the deserts and fastnesses bordering on the frontier.

It will be at once perceived that I am here alluding to a period of the colonial history not long previous to the close of the last century, and that the Aborigines spoken of are the Bushmen and some tribes of Hottentots, for our relations with the Caffres and others are somewhat of a different nature, as I will show in the sequel. Thus the isolated position of most of the intruders afforded the strongest temptation to the savages occasionally to wreak their vengeance. The numerous herds of our peasantry grazing on the usurped lands proved too seductive a bait for the hungry fugitives, who saw the pasturage of their flocks (the game) thus occupied; but their partial success against individual families was generally dearly bought by the additional loss of life and land in the long run.

In 1774, an order was issued for the extirpation of the whole of

the Bushmen, and three commandos, or military expeditions, were sent out to execute it. The massacre at that time was horrible, and the system of persecution continued unremitting, so that, as we have seen, Mr. Barrow records it came to be considered a meritorious act to shoot a bushman.

In 1795, the Earl of Macartney, by proclamation, authorised the landdrosts and magistrates to take the field against the wild Bosjesmen, whenever such an expedition should appear requisite and proper; a practice to which, in some parts, they needed not much urging; for Mr. Maynier, in his answers to the Commissioners of Inquiry, says, "When I was appointed Landdrost of Graaf Reynet, I found that regularly every year large commandos, consisting of 200 or 300 armed boors, had been sent against the Bosjesmen, and learnt by their reports, that generally many hundred of Bosjesmen were killed by them, amongst which number there were perhaps not more than six or ten men (they generally contriving to save themselves by flight,) and that the greatest part of the killed comprised helpless women and innocent children.

"I was also made acquainted with the most horrible atrocities committed on those occasions, such as ordering the Hottentots to dash out against the rocks the brains of infants (too young to be carried off by the farmers for the purpose to use them as bondmen,) in order to save powder and shot." * * * * *

After a time, we find that a milder system was enjoined, and in some places the Bushmen became the willing herdsmen of the boors, and whenever they were well treated, they are described to have made faithful servants; but the boors were too often tempted to buy or to kidnap their children, and to turn the parents off the lands which they took into occupation; and so completely is the country south of the Orange river now cleared of Bushmen, that in 1834, Dr. Philip wrote in a memorial to the Government,—

* * * * * *

A few years ago, we had 1,800 Boschmen belonging to two missionary institutions, among that people in the country between the Snewbergen and the Orange river, a country comprehending 42,000 square miles; and had we been able to treble the number of our missionary stations over that district, we might have had 5,000 of that people under instruction. In 1832, I spent 17 days in that country, travelling over it in different directions. I then found the country occupied by the boors, and the Boschmen population had disappeared, with the exception of those that had been brought up from infancy in the service of the boors. In the whole of my journey, during the 17 days I was in the country, I met with two men and one woman only of the free inhabitants, who had escaped the effects of the commando system, and they were travelling by night, and concealing themselves by day, to escape being shot like wild beasts. Their tale was a lamentable one; their children had been taken from them by the boors, and they were wandering about in this manner from place to place, in the hope of finding out where they were, and of getting a sight of them. * * *

We proceed to take a brief retrospective review of our relations

with the Caffre race; a people generically distinct from the tribes of Hottentots, Bushmen and Griquas, and superior perhaps, from the effect of circumstances, to the two former in valour and intelligence.

For a considerable period, under the Dutch government, the Gamtoos river had been considered the limit of the colony. Previous to our occupation of the Cape in 1780, the Dutch governor, in a proclamation of that date, fixed upon the Great Fish River as the utmost limit of the colony on the eastern frontier. This, however, was only a restrictive and prospective boundary, as the Caffres were still left in possession of the country, and in 1798 Lord Macartney claiming all that the Dutch assumed as belonging to them by the vague proclamation of Governor Van Plattenberg, this new boundary was declared by a proclamation of his Lordship, in which we find mention of our contiguity to the Caffres. The preamble of this proclamation states, "Whereas hitherto no exact limits have been marked out respecting the proper boundaries between this colony, the Caffres and the Bosjesmen, and in consequence of such limits not being regularly ascertained, several of the inhabitants in the more distant parts of this settlement have united in injuring the peaceful possessors of those countries, and under pretence of bartering cattle with them, reduce the wretched natives to misery and want, which at length compels them to the cruel necessity of having recourse to robbing, and various other irregularities in order to support life;" he therefore fixes the Great Fish River as the eastern boundary, and strictly forbids the inhabitants of the colony to pass beyond it.

The terms of this proclamation are remarkable, compared with others, inasmuch as we thereby find that at various times two several reasons have been assigned for taking away land from the Caffres; the one that they make inroads upon us, that they are troublesome neighbours, that we are not safe in their vicinity, we therefore pronounce their land forfeited; the other, as in Lord Macartney's proclamation, that we have been the oppressors, that we have seized their land and reduced the people to be plunderers from starvation, we therefore pronounce their land forfeited. It is singular that from such diversity of premises such an uniformity of conclusion should have been deduced.

After the return of the English to the Cape in 1806, disputes were continually occurring, and in 1811 the Caffres were driven completely out of the Zuurveld. "Up to 1811," says Captain Aitchison, "the Caffres had possession of the whole Albany. In 1811, a large force was sent from Cape Town under Colonel Graham, and were about a year in clearing that country. A great many lives were lost on both sides."

The same witness states the process of clearing to have been by "merely sending in small detachments, and constantly harassing the Caffres."

The cost of this war of 1811, which was protracted four years, was deplorable in all respects; many hundred lives were lost on both sides; among the rest fell landdrost Stockenstrom, father of the Lieutenant-governor of the eastern district, and T'Congo, father of the chiefs Pato, Kama and T'Congo.

It is not easy to calculate exactly the expenses so brought upon the Cape Colony, and upon the home Treasury; but the Commissioners of Inquiry notice the expense of the war of 1811 as a great evil; and as they remark, that peaceful intercourse is endangered by the troops, so they anticipate saving of money from a peaceful system.

The results of this war of 1811 were, first, a succession of new wars, not less expensive, and more sanguinary than the former; second, the loss of thousands of good labourers to the colonists; and this testimony as to the actual service done by Caffre labourers, comprises the strong opinion of Major Dundas, when landdrost in 1827, as to their good dispositions, and that of Colonel Wade to the same effect; and thirdly, the checking of civilization and trade with the interior for a period of 12 years.

The gain was some hundreds of thousands of acres of land, which might have been bought from the natives for comparatively a trifle.

In 1813, it is stated that a "commando, under Colonel Brereton, took 30,000 head of cattle from the Caffres: a practice forming part of a system to which frequent reference is made in every history of our Cape colony transactions.

The inhabitants of the frontier have, it seems, from the earliest times, been accustomed to unite in "armed assemblages, called commandos," for the purpose of recovering stolen cattle. The system was recognized by the Government, who appointed a field-commandant to each district, and a field-cornet to each sub-division of the district,

In 1833 a proclamation of Sir Lowry Cole empowered any field-cornet or deputy field-cornet, to whom a boor may complain that he had lost cattle, to send a party of soldiers on the track and recover the cattle.

It is on evidence, that this mode of recovering cattle is very uncertain; that the cattle are often reported as lost, when they have only strayed; so that, in nine cases out of ten, you punish the innocent; "and here," says Captain Stockenstrom, "lies the great evil, for it is the easiest and most lucrative mode of retaliation, yet at the same time the most demoralizing." * * *

The late Commissioner of the frontier, now Lieutenant-governor, thus gives his opinion of the working of this system. * * *

I had then long since made up my mind that the great source of misfortune on the frontier, was the system of taking Caffre cattle under any circumstances by our patrols, and I shall give my reasons: if Caffres steal cattle, very seldom the real perpetrators can be found,

unless the man losing the cattle has been on his guard, and sees the robbery actually perpetrated, so that he can immediately collect a force and pursue the plunderers; if the cattle be once out of sight of the plundered party, there is seldom any getting them again; our patrols are then entirely at the mercy of the statements made by the farmers, and they may pretend that they are leading them on the trace of the stolen cattle, which may be the trace of any cattle in the world. On coming up to the first Caffre kraal, the Caffre, knowing the purpose for which the patrol comes, immediately drives his cattle out of sight; we then use force and collect those cattle, and take the number said to be stolen, or more: this the Caffres naturally, and as it always appeared to me, justly resist; they have nothing else to live on, and if the cows be taken away the calves perish, and it is a miserable condition in which the Caffre women and children, and the whole party, are left; that resistance is usually construed into hostility, and it is almost impossible then to prevent innocent bloodshed. It also often happens that when the patrol is on the spoor [track] of cattle really stolen, they find some individual head of cattle which is either knocked up or purposely left behind by the real perpetrators, near a kraal, and that is taken as a positive proof of the guilt of that kraal, and leads to the injustice which I have previously pointed out. There have been instances where the farmers have gone into Caffreland with a patrol, pretending to be on the spoor of stolen cattle, and where cattle were taken from the Caffres on the strength of this supposed theft, and on returning home he has found his cattle in another direction, or found them destroyed by wolves, or through his own neglect entirely strayed away; and thus men, not losing cattle at all, but coveting Caffre's cattle, have nothing more to do but to lead the patrol to a kraal, and commit the outrages above described; and the Caffres have frequently told me, "We do not care how many Caffres you shoot if they come into your country, and you catch them stealing, but for every cow you take from our country you make a thief." This I know to be the case, and though I am aware that it is an unpopular view of the question, I must persist that as long as Caffre cattle be taken, peace on the frontier is utterly impossible.

1005. Then do you attribute the disturbances, which have so constantly prevailed on the frontiers, and the acts of severity which we have been obliged to inflict occasionally, and the backward state of improvement of the natives, and the necessity of maintaining a large military force on the frontiers, to this cause; namely, the seizure of Caffre cattle, for cattle stolen or pretended to be stolen from the colonists?—Decidedly.

1006. You think that is the great source of these evils?—Certainly.

1007. And the great source of expense to Government in keeping up a sufficient military force on the frontier?—Yes, decidedly; it leads to this, that when cattle are taken, those from whom they are taken have nothing else to live on; they consequently try to keep possession and defend themselves: this is "resistance;" we then use violence, they are shot, and at last comes war, and war without end.

1013. Do you think we can have a system of peace and tranquillity, and the introduction of civilization among the natives, so long as this system of seizing their cattle continues?—Decidedly not; they cannot be quiet, the people must eat.

1014. Do you think it is in vain to attempt to civilize and christianize them as long as this system of plundering them of their cattle

continues?—Yes, it is in vain to attempt to civilize and christianize, if people have nothing to eat.

1015. Did you represent to the Government that the continuance of this system would render it necessary for the Government to annex the Caffreland to our dominions?—In both my statements which are before the Committee, it will be found that almost the very words were used long before any of the late outrages began. As a natural consequence of our commando in 1818, followed the expulsion of the Caffres, and the seizure of the ceded territory. We will go from one line to another, and we will take one slice of the country after another, and as long as you continue to take the people's cattle, so long will this take place, and you will go from river to river till you get to Delagoa Bay. * * * * *

But we return to the history. In 1817 we entered into a treaty with Gaika, a Caffre chief of importance, but not, as we chose, or as a witness expresses it, "wished," to consider him, paramount sovereign, to punish the depredations of the other chiefs, one of whom, T'Slambie, soon after quarrelled with Gaika. We took part with Gaika, and defeated his enemies, of whom a great number were slain, and we brought off an immense drove of cattle, which we divided with our ally. This involved us in the more serious war of 1819, when the Caffres, whom we had plundered in the preceding year, made a desperate incursion into the colony. They were driven back with slaughter, and we then demanded of Gaika a large portion of Caffreland, for no reason that can be discovered, except that he failed in preventing the incursion, though he was then our ally, and aided us in repelling it. * * * *

We thus pushed our boundary line to the Keiskamma, taking in about 2,000 square miles more. This tract was at first to be called neutral territory, but it soon came to bear the name of ceded territory, although the mode of cession was somewhat questionable. Gaika himself did not profess to have the entire disposal of the lands he thus surrendered; the right was disputed by the chiefs of his own nation, and the treaty was merely verbal, and consigned to the memory of the parties alone; but in those days, as a witness observed, a discussion with the Caffres was not treated with much formality. * * * * * *

It should be noticed, that in this treaty Gaika expressly reserved for the Caffres the basin of the Chumie, which became afterwards a point of further contention. * * * *

The next fact that strikes us is the statement of Captain Atchison: "The chief, Macomo, upon representing the hardship of his being removed out of the country and giving up the Kat River, which was formerly his, was allowed to return again; but many robberies had been committed by his people, and traced to his kraals or huts. In 1822 or 1823 a large force, in which I was employed, surprised these kraals in the middle of the night, and we took from them 7,000 beasts."

We also find other records of commandos of the colony, and in 1826 it is admitted that one of these attacked by mistake the kraal of Botman.

Still Macomo remained, as it was said, on sufferance; but in 1829 an attack of Macomo's upon the Tambookies was the occasion or the pretext of his expulsion. Macomo alleged that he had done nothing to deserve the displeasure of the British Government. But it is not our design to defend his treatment of the Tambookies. His expulsion, however, seems to have been a measure of severity, as described by a witness by no means favourable to Macomo, and to have remained a lasting grievance in his mind. * * *

The banks of the Chumie were still left in the possession of the Caffres, and their next remove was from thence.

In 1833, before Sir Lowry Cole left the colony, he had given orders for removing Tyalie and his people from the Muncassanna; he was accordingly removed, but by an error, as Colonel Wade says, not placed beyond the boundary. To remedy this error, Colonel Wade, without consulting the frontier authorities, gave order for a further removal, which must have appeared to the Caffres, who had submitted quietly to the first order, an unaccountable decree.

On this affair we would remark, that the actual boundary was at least a disputed point, few authentic witnesses remaining; but there were two persons, who, from their station, must be regarded as competent to speak to the point, and they, without communication, concur in declaring that the Chumie basin (the tract in question, as we believe) had been reserved for the Caffres. These are Captain Stockenstrom, who, in his account of the treaty, says, as we have seen, that Gaika did stipulate that his family should keep the Chumie basin; and Macomo, who, in a letter written in 1833, says, that "I have lived peaceably with my people west of the Chumie river, ever since I have been allowed by Stockenstrom and Somerset to live there in my own country."

Whatever may be the opinions of our witnesses on this and on other particulars of our border policy, on one point we observe they are all agreed, in condemning and in lamenting its fickleness and inutility.

This vacillation may be explicable, perhaps, to ourselves, who are aware of the variety of men and opinions concerned in the administration of affairs, and of the contradictory representations liable to be made at a remote seat of government; but, as Lord Glenelg has justly observed, to the natives our proceedings must often have assumed an appearance of caprice, and of a confusion perfectly unintelligible. In no case has this vacillation been more awkwardly exemplified than in the further transactions with Macomo, thus stated by Captain R. S. Aitchison:—

116. Have you ever been employed in removing any of the Caffre

tribes out of the neutral territory?—I have: in November 1833 I was ordered to remove Macomo, Botman and Tyalie, beyond the boundary, which I did.

116. Who was the commandant of the frontier at that time?—Colonel England, of the 75th; Colonel Somerset having gone on leave to England.

117. Who was the governor?—The acting governor was Colonel Wade; after Sir Lowry Cole's departure, and before Sir Benjamin D'Urban arrived, Colonel Wade was acting governor.

118. Will you state what took place when you were ordered to remove Macomo and Tyalie?—Colonel England sent for me (I was absent about 30 miles from Graham's-town), and stated that he had received from Cape-town orders to remove those chiefs beyond the boundary, and that I was named for that duty. He then, as I had been a long time in the country and understood these matters perfectly, asked me the policy of that step, and we agreed that as it was the time of the year when the Caffre corn and pumpkins were in a forward state, that if this could be put off for a few months it would be an act of charity towards the Caffres. Viewing it as I did, he did not act upon the order, but by the post of the following day wrote to say that such being the case, he had submitted again the policy of allowing the Caffres to remain until they had reaped their harvest, and hoped it would be approved of by the governor. By return of post, which was about 14 days from that date, a peremptory order arrived for the removal of the Caffres. I was named and ordered to repair to Fort Willshire, to take upon myself the command of that post, and to superintend the clearing of the country. The force that was then put under my charge was quite inadequate to effect this purpose by force. I sent for Macomo and for Botman, and as I had known them many years, I told them, and in fact they expressed great confidence, knowing that I had never deceived them in any way whatever, and never promised them that which I could not perform. I sent for them and explained the case. At first they refused positively to go: I then pointed out as well as I could the absurdity of objecting to go. Macomo said he knew very well that I could not force him; I said of course that I must do it, but that if he would go quietly and advise all his people to do the same, Colonel Somerset might be expected very shortly and also the new governor, and that his good behaviour on this occasion would insure him my support, and that I would not fail, if he went quietly, to mention his conduct to both when they arrived. After many hours, I may say almost, of needless conversation upon the subject, he at last said that he would believe me, and would go. I gave him two days to complete the evacuation of the country, and then I went with the whole force I had, and did not find a single Caffre.

119. Had they left any property?—All the corn, which was quite green, all the gardens, and all the pumpkins, and everything was left; no animals were left.

122. In this conversation that you had with Macomo, did he claim his right to stay?—No; but he distinctly said, which we found out afterwards to be the case, that he could not make out the cause of his removal, and asked me if I would tell him; and I really could not: I had heard nothing, no cause was ever assigned to me for the removal; and moreover I met a boor who lived close to where Macomo was, and he said, "Pray what are you removing these people for?" I said,

"My orders are to do so." He said, "I am very sorry for it, for I have never lost, so long as they have been here, a single beast; they have even recovered beasts for me."

125. Then Macomo behaved, in this interview between you and him, very well?—At first, as may be supposed, he was very violent; the man was very much irritated. I could not assign any reason why he was ordered to be removed; and he absolutely stated, "I will allow you to inquire at Fort Willshire, whether or not I have not sent in horses and cattle re-captured from other Caffres, which had been stolen from the colony."

131 Did you see any instance of great distress amongst them?—Unfortunately it so happened for them that it was a particularly dry season; the grass, which generally is very abundant, was very scarce indeed, and also water; and they were driven out of a country that was both better for water and grass than the one they were removed to, which was already thickly inhabited. They took me over the country they were to inhabit, and I assure you there was not a morsel of grass upon it more than there is in this room; it was as bare as a parade.

132. On Colonel Somerset's return from England, was there any permission given to Macomo and his followers to return?—I mentioned to Colonel Somerset on his return, what I had told Macomo; I considered it my duty to do so, and he either obtained or gave the Caffres permission to re-occupy the ground from which I had driven them.

149. As to Macomo's tribe, did they reap the benefit of that harvest when they returned in January?—No, I think not; the corn would not be ripe till March.

150. You suppose the whole of that was lost?—A great part of that.

151. They came in February?—Yes.

152. When were they driven out?—By return of post. Colonel Somerset allowed them to come in, and, upon a representation to the civil commissioners, they were ordered back again.

In what light, may we again ask, must these changes have appeared to the Caffres, removed without cause assigned from their huts and springing corn in November 1833—restored in February 1834—sent away again by return of post—in the same year, as we shall see, allowed to resettle themselves—and again ejected.*

We might find cause for regret in these changes, if only on the

* Sir Benjamin D'Urban thus speaks of the November expulsion:—"For many years past the tribes of the chiefs Macomo, Bothman and Tyalie, had been allowed by the colonial government to reside and graze their cattle immediately within (on the western side of) the River Keiskamma, upon the Gaga, Chumie and Muncassana. In the November of the last year the acting governor, under the impression that this indulgence had been abused (which probably it might have been to a certain extent), ordered their immediate expulsion from the whole of that line, and they were expelled accordingly. This unfortunately happened when a period of severe drought was approaching; so that these tribes, I am afraid, but too certainly suffered much loss in their herds in consequence."—Despatch, 28th Oct. 1834; Cape Papers, Part II. 1835, No. 252, p. 103.

ground of the fickleness of policy which they exhibit, but when we couple with them the fact mentioned by Mr. Gisborne, that one only of these removals had produced in the minds not only of the chiefs immediately concerned, but in that of Hintza, feelings of distrust and irritation, we cannot but consider these repetitions of the grievance as one of the principal causes of the calamity which has befallen the colony. Of the last scene of removal, Colonel Wade was witness on the 21st October, 1834. He says, that "at this time, they had been returned about a month, had built their huts, established their cattle-kraals, and commenced the cultivation of their gardens." He states that, together with Colonel Somerset, he made a visit to Macomo and Botman's kraal, across the Keiskamma, and that Macomo rode back with them, when they had recrossed the river and reached the Omkobina, a tributary of the Chumie. "These valleys were swarming with Caffres, as was the whole country in our front, as far as the Gaga; the people were all in motion, carrying off their effects, and driving away their cattle towards the drifts of the river, and to my utter amazement, the whole country around and before us was in a blaze. Presently we came up with a strong patrol of the mounted rifle corps, which had, it appeared, come out from Fort Beaufort that morning; the soldiers were busily employed in burning the huts and driving the Caffres towards the frontier."

The further procedures with the Caffres are thus described :—

The second time of my leaving Caffreland was in October, last year, in company with a gentleman, who was to return towards Hantam. We passed through the country of the Gaga, at 10 o'clock at night; the Caffres were enjoying themselves after their custom, with their shouting, feasting and midnight dances; they allowed us to pass on unmolested. Some time after I received a letter from the gentleman who was my travelling companion on that night, written just before the breaking out of the Caffre war; in it he says, "You recollect how joyful the Caffres were when we crossed the Gaga; but on my return a dense smoke filled all the vales, and the Caffres were seen lurking here and there behind the Mimosa; a patrol, commanded by an officer, was driving them beyond the colonial boundary. (This piece of country has very lately been claimed by the colony.) I saw one man near me, and I told my guide to call him to me: the poor fellow said, 'No, I cannot come nearer; that white man looks too much like a soldier;' and all our persuasions could not induce him to advance near us.' 'Look,' said he, pointing to the ascending columns of smoke, 'what the white men are doing.' Their huts and folds were all burned. When the boors cross the northern boundary, you hear the civil commissioner and Colonel Bell saying the drought compels them to intrude into the country of the Griquas. I suppose boors are men, Caffres are beasts, or why not use the same argument for all classes of our fellow-men?" Thus much of this gentleman's letter, upon whose veracity I can implicitly depend. It was about this period that the case of the Caffre Goube came on, when the magistrate of Graham's-town, awarded to a Caffre 50 lashes on his bare back, and an imprisonment of two months, "for resisting a serjeant in the

execution of his duty," such being the civil charge, as may be seen in the records of the magistrates' court of Graham's-town. The poor Caffre being a subject of Macomo's, had, as it appears in evidence, built his hut on the part of the neutral territory, so called, probably the Gaga. The serjeant being about to set fire to the hut, the Caffre is said to have threatened opposition; he afterwards went through the Caffreland, showing his wounded back to his countrymen, and calling down their vengeance. Numerous were the instances of commandos or patrols, of which I heard when in Caffreland, carrying off the cattle of the Caffres, burning their huts, besides the misconduct of the traders and farmers.

Of the previous state of the country, and its appearance at the time we are speaking of, Dr. Philip says :—

In passing through Albany and the neutral territory in the end of August or the beginning of September, the scenes where their depredations were said to have taken place, I made particular inquiry after the boors and settlers who could not send their cattle and herds without sending armed men to defend them; and I endeavoured to ascertain where the hordes of Caffres were said to be within the colony harassing the military, and, in spite of them, committing unparalleled outrages; but I met with none who had either seen or heard of such things. Herds of cattle and horses were seen wandering in different directions, some of them attended by herdsmen without any arms, and others of these herds without any one appearing to look after them. Everything within the colony wore the aspect of peace; and the principal things which seemed to occupy the people's minds, were the emigration of the boors beyond the frontier, and the expectation that when the Governor came to the frontier he would grant them new farms beyond the limits of the colony. We heard in every direction that the patrols had been very active; and on approaching the Caffre frontier the first thing which struck my travelling companions and myself was a patrol coming out of Caffreland. During the two weeks I spent at the Kat River, I was constantly hearing of patrols driving the Caffres over the Chumie, burning their huts, and going into Caffreland to bring out cattle said to have been stolen. Having remained at Kat River about a fortnight, I went into Caffreland, accompanied by Captain Bradford, J. H. Tredgold, esq. and the Rev. Mr. Read. We spent about a fortnight in the Caffre country, and in every part that we visited we found the Caffres in a state of continual alarm; and we seldom met a few of them together but one or the other of them had to tell us how they had been ruined by the patrols. It was truly heartrending to listen to their complaints, and the complaints of the men were almost forgotten in the distress of the women and children, who were literally perishing, being stricken through for want of the fruits of the field and the milk that had been the means of their support, their cows having been carried away by the patrols.

Having visited the missionary stations of Lovedale, Burn's-hill and the Buffalo River, I returned by way of Knapp's-hill, the missionary station of the Rev. Mr. Kayser, which was on Macomo's ground, and near his kraal. There we met with several of the Caffre chiefs who had been invited to meet me there; namely, Macomo, Botman, Kama, and Tzatzo. We had a public meeting, which occupied the greater part of a day, and at which there was much speaking. My sole object on

that occasion was to procure any additional information for the Governor which I could obtain. I stated to them that I had come among them as their friend; I neither was in fact, nor appeared to them to be, in any other character. In reply to the remarks which the chiefs made about their sufferings, I stated that I hoped the Governor would soon be on the frontier, and that I had reason to think he was a just man, and would redress any real grievances of which they might have to complain. I told them at the same time, that they mnst not expect anything more than was reasonable from his Excellency; that he was obliged to protect the colonists from any depredations that might be committed on them by the Caffres, and that any future plan that might be proposed to the chiefs by the Governor would necessarily embrace the restoration of cattle stolen from the colonists by the Caffres, and other things of a similar nature.

I found the Caffres reasonable, and I had not the least doubt that had the Governor gone to the frontier at the time I was there, they would have embraced the plan he had to propose for the peaceable settlement of the frontier affairs with transports of joy. Having stated rather strongly the necessity the chiefs would be under of preventing all stealing from the colony as the condition of any peaceable relations the Governor might enter into with them, Botman made the following reply: "The Governor cannot be so unreasonable as to make our existence as a nation depend upon a circumstance which is beyond the reach of hnman power. Is it in the power of any Governor to prevent his people stealing from each other? Have you not within the colony, magistrates, policemen, prisons, whipping-posts and gibbets; and do you not perceive that in spite of all these means to make your people honest, that your prisons continue full, and that you have constant employment for your magistrates, policemen and hangmen, without being able to keep down your colonial thieves and cheats? A thief is a wolf; he belongs to no society, and yet is the pest and bane of all societies. You have your thieves, and we have thieves among us; but we cannot, as chiefs, extirpate the thieves of Caffreland, more than we can extirpate the wolves, or you can extirpate the thieves of the colony. There is, however, this difference between us: we discountenance thieves in Caffreland, and prevent, as far as possible, our people stealing from the colony; but you countenance the robbery of your people upon the Caffres, by the sanction you give to the injustice of the patrol system. Our people have stolen your cattle, but you have, by the manner by which you have refunded your loss, punished the innocent; and after having taken our country from us, without even a shadow of justice, and shut us up to starvation, you threaten us with destruction for the thefts of those to whom you left no choice but to steal or die by famine."

My last interview with the chiefs took place in the beginning of October 1834. After this interview, I returned to the Kat River, where I waited, expecting daily the arrival of the Governor. Finding that he delayed his proposed journey, and that I had no certainty as to the time of his arrival on the frontier, I drew up a document, communicating additional information, and at the same time laying before Sir Benjamin the principle on which it was necessary to base the system of international law proposed to be introduced. Finding that I could not wait longer for his Excellency on the frontier, I wrote a letter to him, in which I stated that circumstance, assigning my reasons for leaving Caffreland at that period; and as he was daily ex-

pected in Graham's Town, the above document, with the letter in question, I forwarded to Graham's Town, to be put into the hands of his Excellency on his arrival there, that he might see them before he went into Caffreland.

I then left Kat River on the 4th of November, by way of the Mankassana and Gaga. On a ridge which separates these two districts, I met several parties of Caffres. Goobie, a Caffre, who had been imprisoned and flogged at Graham's Town by order of the civil magistrate, had returned to that neighbourhood; and one of the first questions asked me was, what right the English Government had to punish the subject of a Caffre chief? I was assured by the people then around me, that it was the first example of a Caffre ever having been flogged; that the man could never again lift up his head in society; that it would have been better had he been shot dead; and that when the Governor should arrive among them, he would hear of it from every tongue in Caffreland, as one of the greatest indignities that could have been offered to their nation. I said everything in my power to soothe them; but no people can have a keener sense of injustice in cases where they themselves are the sufferers, or can be more alive to what they deem national affronts, than the Caffres are; and I found that any argument I used to quiet their minds tended only to increase the excitement to which this circumstance had given rise. Some of the Caffres asserted that the man was arrested on what was till then considered Caffre territory; but this is a circumstance of small consequence; he was the subject of a Caffre prince, and he had only lifted his hand to protect his hut, and his wife and child, who were in it.

Leaving the Mankassana, I proceeded along the western edge of the Chumie Basin, and during a ride of perhaps 20 miles, I did not find a single Caffre kraal or hut which had not been burnt or otherwise destroyed by the military. Immediately above Fort Willshire, and below the junction of the Chumie and Keiskamma Rivers, I saw with my own eyes the kraals and huts of the Caffres burning. This was on ground that was of use to no one. It was on the boundary of the neutral ground (within the territory which goes by that name), and at a great distance from any colonists. The people were sitting in small groups looking at their burning habitations. Being asked why they did not go over the river, they said there was no grass on the other side, and they might as well perish by the patrols as by famine; they added, that the patrols who fired their kraals and huts had informed them, that the next day every one of them was to be driven over the river at the point of the bayonet.

On the 5th of November, the day after I left Kat River, I halted near Fort Willshire, about mid-day. Macomo, hearing that I was there, came to the place, accompanied with about 20 of his men. They remained with me about two hours. On his way he called at Fort Willshire, where he was reminded of a demand which had been made upon him a short time before by Colonel Somerset for 480 head of cattle, said to be due to the colony. The chief stated in reply to that demand, that there were no colonial cattle among his people; that he had always been ready, whenever cattle had been stolen from the colony, and reported to him, to recover them; that in the course of a year he had sent back a great number he had recaptured from Caffres that did not belong to them. Colonel Somerset had still urged that the 480 head of cattle were to be demanded, adding that he had orders from the Governor to make this demand, but the Governor was

not willing to use force till he knew whether Macomo would comply with the demand or not. To this the chief replied, that he could only repeat what he had before said, that he had done everything in his power to recover cattle said to have been stolen from the colony; that he would be answerable for his own people, but that he could not be answerable for cattle stolen by vagabond Caffres in the bushes. Having given this reply, and being conscious that he had done everything in his power, and seeing no end to the demands made upon him, he received this last demand as a proof that his ruin was resolved upon; for he had just been told at Fort Willshire that a commando was about to enter his country to take the 480 head of cattle, and this threat seemed to add greatly to his distress. The chief then entered upon further detail of his grievances, and declared that it was impossible for human nature to endure what he had to suffer from the patrol system. I reasoned with him, and did all in my power to impress upon his mind the importance of maintaining peace with the colony. I stated again that I had reason to believe that the Governor, when he came to the frontier, would listen to all his grievances, and treat him with justice and generosity. "These promises," he replied, "we have had for the last 15 years;" and, pointing to the huts then burning, he added, "things are becoming worse: these huts were set on fire last night, and we were told that to-morrow the patrol is to scour the whole district, and drive every Caffre from the west side of the Chumie and Keiskamma at the point of the bayonet." He asked to what extent endurance was to be carried? and my reply was, "If they drive away your people at the point of the bayonet, advise them to go over the Keiskamma peaceably; if they come and take away cattle, suffer them to do it without resistance; if they burn your huts, allow them to do so; if they shoot your men, bear it till the Governor come; and then represent your grievances to him, and I am convinced you will have no occasion to repent of having followed my advice. He was deeply affected, and the last words he said to me were, (grasping my hand,) "I will try what I can do."

These events bring us to the breaking out of the late war. On this most important subject we abstain from entering. Though much evidence has been laid before us, and many circumstances appearing therein have excited our deep regret, (amongst the most painful of which we may allude to the death of the Caffre Prince Hintza,) yet as the evidence on this head has not been completed, and as the events are so recent, we have been led to the belief that an analysis of the statements already before us might not be considered either impartial or conclusive: we therefore waive the investigation. It is sufficient to express our opinion, that the system which has long been pursued in our intercourse with the natives of South Africa has been productive of most injurious effects both to the colonists and the Caffres, exposing the former to constant insecurity and frequent severe suffering and loss, and subjecting the latter to great injustice, and to treatment which could not fail to occasion feelings of irritation and hostility.

We look upon the late war as one among many illustrations of these evils. While we purposely abstain from dwelling upon the circumstances which immediately produced it, we, without hesita-

tion, name its real, though perhaps remote cause—it was the systematic forgetfulness of the principles of justice in our treatment of the native possessors of the soil.

That any substantial benefit can accrue from border conflicts, either to the British or the Caffre nation, may well be questioned. What has either party gained by recent hostilities? It is proved that both have sustained immense detriment—civilization has been retarded; commerce has been interrupted; the vanquished party has endured immense loss in property, in territory and in life;* and the victorious nation, besides suffering in all these particulars, has incurred an actual outlay of money far more than commensurate to the value of the territory acquired. The cost of this war to the British nation is estimated at 241,884*l.* 14*s.* 8$\frac{1}{2}$*d.*

With respect, however, to this part of our investigation, we wish it to be understood, that it is not against individuals, much less against the colonists or the military as bodies, that we would direct our reprehension; we are convinced that a large proportion of both are well and kindly disposed towards the natives: but it is the system that has been permitted to prevail in the colony, which, in our opinion, requires a complete alteration; a system which puts it into the power of the few who are rash, reckless or greedy, to hazard the peace and the welfare of the whole community. We are aware that the results of a long system of erroneous policy are not to be remedied without much time and patience, and we fear that the weight of the calamity which it has produced has in many instances fallen on those of our colonists who have least merited it; but we entertain a confident hope that, by the measures which have been lately adopted and recommended by the Government, peace and harmony between us and our neighbours may be restored and established on a sure and lasting basis; and it is chiefly to the enlightened principles, and to the just directions of the head of our Colonial Department, exemplified as they are in his late despatches before us, and to laws embodying and carrying into effect those directions and principles, that we look for this happy accomplishment of our desires. Thus much at least is sufficiently obvious, as has been stated by Sir Benjamin D'Urban in his despatch to Mr. Secretary Rice, of 28th of October 1834, "that a complete and effectual reformation of our system of proceeding with the native tribes (if that may be called a system which seems to have been guided by no fixed principles, certainly by no just one) had become absolutely necessary."

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* This consisted in the slaughter of 4,000 of their warriors, or fighting men. "There have been taken from them also, besides the conquest and alienation of their country, about 60,000 head of cattle, almost all their goats—their habitations everywhere destroyed and their gardens and corn-fields laid waste."—Sir B. D'Urban to Lord Glenelg, November 1835.

We can hardly leave the subject of South Africa and its wrongs, without noticing two very gratifying facts of recent occurrence, the one, that Lord Glenelg has ordered the restoration to the Caffres of a considerable tract of territory of which they had been unjustly deprived: and the other, that he has appointed as Lieutenant-governor of the eastern part of the colony, and in fact as protector of the natives, Captain Stockenstrom, a man whose chief merit in the eyes of our Government, and his chief offence in those of the colonists, appears to have been his zealous maintenance of the rights of the African Aborigines.

Effects of Fair Dealing, combined with Christian Instruction, on Aborigines.

In the foregoing survey we have seen the desolating effects of the association of unprincipled Europeans with nations in a ruder state.

There remains a more gratifying subject to which we have now to direct our attention—the effect of fair dealing and of Christian instruction upon heathens. The instances are unhappily less numerous than those of an opposite character, but they are not less conclusive; and in reviewing the evidence before us, we find proof that every tribe of mankind is accessible to this remedial process, and that it has actually been partially applied, and its benefits experienced in every quarter of the world, so that the main feature of the case before us being the ravages caused by Europeans, enough has been incidentally disclosed to show that those nations which have been exposed to our contamination might, during the same period, have been led forward to religion and civilization. Independently of the obligations of conscience to impart the blessings we enjoy, we have had abundant proof that it is greatly for our advantage to have dealings with civilized men rather than with barbarians. Savages are dangerous neighbours and unprofitable customers, and if they remain as degraded denizens of our colonies, they become a burthen upon the State.

We have next to express our conviction that there is but one effectual means of staying the evils we have occasioned, and of imparting the blessings of civilization, and that is, the propagation of Christianity, together with the preservation, for the time to come, of the civil rights of the natives. * * * *

We further find, in the evidence before us, that benevolent at-

tempts have been made to instruct savages in the arts of civilized life, for the purpose of improving their condition, and gradually preparing them for the truths of the Gospel, and that these attempts have been signally unsuccessful.

The cause of this failure is explained by Mr. Beecham.

> The higher motives of the gospel must be brought to bear upon the mind of the savage; he must be made to feel the importance of the truths of religion before he will discover anything desirable in the quietness and sobriety of civilized life, or will dare to break through his superstitions in order to subdue it.
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> I was aware that the Governor of Upper Canada had made many attempts to induce the Indians to renounce their wandering life, and I wished to ascertain from the chief himself what were his views of the endeavours made by the Governor in their behalf, and how it was that they failed. He said the fact was simply this, that the offers of the Governor had no charms for them; they could see nothing in civilized life sufficiently attractive to induce them to give up their former mode of living for the sake of it. He told me that they gave the Governor credit for very kind and benevolent intentions; yet, in answer to all his applications, while they thanked him for his kind intentions, they uniformly told him that they preferred their own mode of living to that followed by Europeans. This again was the case with the Indians who are situated in the neighbourhood of the river St. Clair. The Governor made several attempts to induce them also to renounce their wandering habits, and devote themselves to civilized pursuits; but they also refused, arguing in the following strain: "Who knows but the Munedoos (gods) would be angry with us for abandoning our own ways?" and concluded by saying, "We wish our great father, the Governor, to be informed that we feel thankful to him for his good will towards us, but cannot accept of his kind offers." It is true that, after some time, one of the tribes so far acceeded to the Governor's proposals as to consent that he should build them some houses. He built a small number for their use, but it was altogether a fruitless experiment; the Indians only occupied them occasionally as they used their own huts, without any reference to the comforts or pursuits of civilized life. I have here a letter from the chief himself in his own hand-writing, in which he says, in reference to the attempts that had thus been made to promote civilization without Christianity, "I have heard of no instance in this part of the country, where the plan of first civilizing the heathen Indians ever succeeded." * * * *

So complete indeed has been the failure of the merely civilizing plan with various tribes of Indians, that intelligent Americans have been led to adopt the conclusion, that it is necessary to banish the Indians from the neighbourhood of the white population, on the supposition that they are not capable of being reclaimed or elevated into a civilized or well-ordered community.

This was not the opinion of William Penn, whose conduct towards the Indians has been deservedly held up as a model for legislators, and who, "notwithstanding he purchased their lands" by

an equitable treaty, "did not desire their removal," but "admitted them to full participation in the benefit and protection of the laws," and who also took pains to promote their religious instruction, and to render the intercourse with their white brethren beneficial to them. That the good which he contemplated has been frustrated by many untoward circumstances, we are aware; but we do not therefore doubt the feasibility of producing a permanent impression upon uncivilized men. We consider that the true plan to be pursued is that which we find thus recommended by the Church Missionary Society, in their instructions to two of their emissaries. "In connexion with the preaching of the Gospel, you will not overlook its intimate bearing on the moral habits of a people. One effect arising from its introduction into a country is, the 'beating the sword into a ploughshare and the spear into a pruning-hook.' Seek then to apply it to the common occupation of life; and instead of waiting to civilize them before you instruct them in the truths of the Gospel, or to convert them before you aim at the improvement of their temporal condition, let the two objects be pursued simultaneously."

The Governors of the Canadas, as we find in their despatches, seem to have been brought to the conviction that religious instruction and the influence of missionaries would be the most likely means of improving their condition, and, eventually, of relieving the Government from the expense of the Indian department. Both Sir James Kempt and Sir J. Colbourne advise the sending of missionaries among them.

A remarkable instance of the power of the gospel in reclaiming savages has been afforded by the Mississaguas and Chippeways, the very Indians who had, as we have seen, rejected civilization, and who were notorious for drunkenness and debauchery.

Their improvement began with their conversion: "as soon as they were converted, they perceived the evils attendant upon their former ignorant wandering state; they began to work, which they never did before; they perceived the advantage of cultivating the soil; they totally gave up drinking, to which they had been strongly attached; they became industrious, sober and useful."

The Bishop of Quebec writes,—

The Methodist Society have been very successful in converting a great portion of the Mississagua tribe from heathen ignorance and immoral habits to Christian faith and practice; and this improvement has been so great and rapid within these few years, that the hand of God seems to be visible in it; and it must be acknowledged that they have done much in the work of their civilization. An extraordinary reformation and conversion to Christianity has taken place in this tribe within a few years. It commenced on the river Credit, and has extended to various settlements of the nation to a considerable distance. A great proportion of the tribe have become sober and indus-

trious in their habits, well clad as to their persons, and religious in their life and conversation.

Mr. Magrath also mentions that they no longer desire the gifts of trinkets and gaudy coloured clothes, in which they formerly delighted, in lieu of which they request twine, for the purpose of making fishing-nets for the Lake Ontario, The half-caste chief Kahkewaquonaby, generally known by the name of Peter Jones, in answer to the question, whether the Chippeways, on embracing the gospel, did not immediately apply themselves to civilized pursuits, says,

This has uniformly been the case with all the tribes that have embraced the gospel. Immediately on their conversion, they have applied to the Governor and missionaries for assistance, to enable them to settle down in villages, and attend to the things that make for their present happiness as well as their spiritual welfare. Their language is, "Give us missionaries to tell us about the words of the Great Spirit; give us schools, that our children may be taught to read the Bible; give us oxen to work with, and men to show us how to work our farms." To the question whether the Christain Chippeways have not made considerable advancement in civilization?—The improvement the Christian Indians have made, has been the astonishment of all who knew them in their pagan state. The change for the better has not only extended in their hearts, views, and feelings, but also in their personal appearance, and in their domestic and social condition. Formerly they were in a wandering state, living in wigwams, and depending on the chase for subsistence. The Christian Chippeways are settled at the following places, viz. River Credit, Grape Island, Rice Lake, Mud Lake, Lake Simcoe, Cold Water, Muncey Town, River St. Clair (Wawanosh's tribe,) and Sahgeeng. At each of these places they have made more or less progress in civilization, according to the advantages they enjoyed. The River Credit Mission being the oldest station among the Chippeways, I will give you an account of their present temporal condition. About ten years ago this people had no houses, no fields, no horses, no cattle, no pigs, no poultry. Each person could carry all he possessed on his back, without being much burthened. They are now occupying about 40 comfortable houses, most of which are built of hewn logs, and a few of frame. They are generally one-and-a-half story high, and about 24 feet long and 18 feet wide, with stone or brick chimneys; two or three rooms in each house; their furniture consists of tables, chairs, bedsteads, straw mattresses, a few feather beds, window-curtains, boxes and trunks for their wearing apparel, small shelves fastened against the wall for their books, closets for their cooking utensils, cup-boards for their plates, cups, saucers, knives, and forks. Some have clocks and watches. They have no carpets; but a few have mats laid on their floors. This tribe own a saw-mill, a work-shop, a blacksmith's shop, and a warehouse, the property of the whole community. They have about 200 acres of land under cultivation, on which they grow wheat, Indian corn or maize, oats, peas, potatoes, pumpkins and squashes. In their gardens they raise beans, melons, cabbages, onions, &c. A few have

planted fruit-trees in their gardens, such as apple-trees, cherry-trees, pear-trees, currant and gooseberry-bushes. All these thrive well here, when properly cultivated. They have a number of oxen, cows, horses, pigs, poultry, dogs and cats; a few barns and stables; a few waggons and sleighs, also all sorts of farming implements. "I guess," as the Yankees say, it would require an Indian as strong as Sampson to carry all his goods and chattles on his back now.

He goes on to speak of the improvement in their dress; they now use English cloth; and he dwells especially upon the great amelioration of the condition of the women, who have been raised from the drudgery of beasts of burthen, and are now treated with consideration by their husbands.

A similar instance is furnished by the history of the St. Clair Chippeways, of whom the Rev. J. Evans says,

They were all drunkards with one exception, not drunkards in a limited sense, but the most abandoned and unblushing sots imaginable; they were never sober when they could procure anything to intoxicate them; they were idle in the extreme, never attending to any business except hunting; the women being considered the proper persons to manage the agricultural department, which consisted of perhaps half an acre of maize or Indian corn, seldom more; the greater part of the produce of which was in general sold for whiskey at the spirit-store or the tavern, in the vicinity of which places the greater part of their time was spent, embracing every opportunity of soliciting from the whites the means of gratifying their insatiable thirst for the "fire water." Their places of abode, until about three years past, were bark wigwams; and such was their poverty and wretchedness, that could my pen draw a faithful picture, and fully point out their extreme misery, there are few indeed in the island of comforts where you dwell, who would not charge me with exaggeration. Thus sinking in the slough of iniquity, the children were at times exposed to the most severe sufferings by hunger and nakedness. I have known many times a family of small children left to spend several days and nights in the wigwam alone, gathering a few sticks to warm their shivering limbs, or wandering through the bushes to obtain a few berries and roots; chewing the bark of the elm and other trees to satisfy their hunger; greedily devouring the potatoe peelings and refuse thrown out by the whites; while their parents were rolling around some of those hotbeds of vice, those nurseries of crimes, the taverns. They were the most prodigal that can be conceived; the annual payments made by the Crown as a remuneration for their lands, together with presents, amounting to several thousand pounds sterling, were almost useless; nay, in many cases, worse than useless, by making them indulge to a greater extent in drunkenness. I have known scores of them to sell all their goods thus obtained in two or three days. Such was their insatiable thirst for liquor, that a quart or two would induce them to part with anything they possessed, rather than forego the gratification of a drunken frolic. I have known the Indians live for days on a dead horse, ox or other animal, rather than leave the spot where they could procure whiskey. * * * *

The Rev. Mr. Ryerson, who is described as being intimately acquainted with the Mohawks, gives a similar history of their past and present circumstances:—

A striking proof of the inefficacy of merely educational instruction to civilize barbarous tribes, and of the power of the gospel to civilize as well as to christianize, the most vicious of the human race, is furnished by the Mohawk nation of Indians in Upper Canada.

The Mohawks are one of the six nations of Indians to whom, at an early period, His Majesty granted a large tract of land, situate on the banks of the Grand River, the most fertile tract of land in Upper Canada, lying in the heart of the province and surrounded by a white population. Most of these Mohawks had even been baptized, and they were visited once a year by a clergyman of the Church of England.

The greater part of them were taught to read and write: they were exhorted to till the soil, and cultivate the arts of civilized life; yet this nation was more drunken, ferocious, and vicious than any one of the five other heathen nations on the Indian reservation. They were proverbially savage and revengeful, as well as shrewd, so as often to be a terror to their white neighbours. In no respect was the social and civil condition of the Mohawks practically and morally improved above that of the neighbouring heathen tribes, by the mere educational and civilizing process of 40 years. The example and vices of the Mohawks were often urged by their heathen neighbours as an objection against the Christian religion itself, when missionaries were sent among them. But a few years ago (1825), when the gospel was preached to these Mohawk Indians, as well as to the several tribes of Chippeway Indians, a large portion of them embraced it, and became at once changed in their dispositions and reformed in their lives, teachable, sober, honest, and industrious; and are improving in the arts of civilization, and cultivating the virtues and charities of Christian life.

In the instance of these various tribes of Indians, we see that the very people who had access to civilization not only in the form in which it ordinarily presents itself to savages, but for whom also expensive and more than ordinarily humane exertions were made, under the patronage of the Governor, to lead them to adopt civilization, nevertheless withstood all inducements to alter their habits. The allurements presented to them altogether failed, so that there was neither civilization nor Christianity among them; when a second experiment, beginning at the other end, was made. Christianity was preached to them by resident missionaries; and no sooner did they become converts to its doctrines, than they exhibited that desire for the advantages of civilized life, and that delight in its conveniences, which have hitherto been supposed to belong exclusively to cultivated nations, and to be utterly strange and abhorrent to the nature of the savage.

On the subject of the North American Indians, Mr. Beecham concludes his evidence by saying,—

I think I may safely lay down this as a general rule, that wherever

the Gospel has not been introduced among the Indians of Upper Canada, there the process by which the diminution of their numbers is effected is steadily going on; but wherever Christianity has been established, there a check has been interposed to the process of destruction; and on the older stations, among the tribes that have been the greatest length of time under the influence of Christian principles, there the population has begun to increase. Christianity, by the change which it has wrought in their character and pursuits, by saving them from those destructive vices to which they were given up, and promoting that industry which procures for them the means of healthful subsistence, has thus checked the evils under which they were wasting away.

The Rev. W. Ellis, the Secretary of the London Missionary Society, who was for many years himself a Missionary in the South Sea Islands, thus gives the summary of the results of his own experience:—

It is my conviction that Christianity supplies materials and machinery for promoting civilization of the highest order. I might adduce one or two examples of the correctness of these sentiments from a part of the world with which I am more familiar than any other, the South Sea Islands. If civilization be viewed as consisting in exemption from temporal wants, and the possession of means of present enjoyment, the inhabitants of these islands were placed in circumstances more favourable to civilization than perhaps any other people under Heaven. They have a salubrious climate, a fertile soil, and an abundance of all that could render the present life happy, so far as mere animal existence is concerned; but there was perhaps no portion of the human family in a state of wretchedness equal to that to which they were reduced before Christianity was introduced among them. They were accustomed to practise infanticide, probably more extensively than any other nation; they offered human sacrifices in greater numbers than I have read of there having been offered by any other nation; they were accustomed to war of the most savage and exterminating kind. Efforts were made by the missionaries for the introduction of the arts of civilization, with instruction in the truths of the Christian religion. For 15 years those efforts were altogether unsuccessful; they produced no amelioration in the morals or in the circumstances of the people. The vices which sailors took there rendered the inhabitants more wretched. When Christianity was adopted by the people, human sacrifices, infant murder and war entirely ceased; *peace remained unbroken for* 15 *years;* the language which the missionaries had learned during the interval between their arrival and the adoption of Christianity by the people, had been reduced to a system; orthography, a grammar and dictionary had been prepared; portions of the Bible had been translated. When the natives adopted Christianity they were willing to become pupils in the school; but until Christianity supplied a motive, by producing a desire to read the Scriptures, they never had a motive sufficient to lead them to endure the restraint and confinement of the school, but they have done so since, and there are several thousands now capable of reading and writing. The entire volume of Divine Revelation has been translated; the New Testament has been printed, and is in circulation among them. Christianity condemned indolence, *required industry,* and supplied in-

ducements to labour; and the natives, since they embraced Christianity, have acquired a knowledge of a number of useful manual arts. Before that the efforts of the missionaries to induce them to work in iron and in wood produced no satisfactory result; since that they have been taught to work in wood, and there are now carpenters who hire themselves out to captains of ships to work at repairs of vessels, &c., for which they receive regular wages; and there are blacksmiths that hire themselves out to captains of ships, for the purpose of preparing iron-work required in building or repairing ships. The natives have been taught not only to construct boats, but to build vessels, and there are perhaps 20, (there have been as many as 40) small vessels, of from 40 to 80 or 90 tons burthen, built by the natives, navigated sometimes by Europeans, and manned by natives, all the fruit of the natives' own skill and industry. They have been taught to build neat and comfortable houses, and to cultivate the soil. They could not be induced to do that while heathen, for they used to say the fruit ripens and the pigs get fat while we are asleep, and that is all we want; why, therefore, should we work? But *now they have new wants;* a number of articles of clothing and commerce are necessary to their comfort, and they cultivate the soil to supply them. At one island, where I was once 15 months without seeing a single European excepting our own families, there were I think 28 ships put in for provisions last year, and all obtained the supplies they wanted. Besides cultivating potatoes and yams, and raising stock, fowls and pigs, the cultivation, the spinning and the weaving of the cotton has been introduced by missionary artizans; and there are some of the chiefs and a number of the people, especially in one of the islands, who are now decently clothed in garments made after the European fashion, produced from cotton grown in their own gardens, spun by their own children, and woven in the islands. One of the chiefs of the island of Rarotonga, as stated by the missionaries, never wears any other dress than that woven in the island. They have been taught also to cultivate the sugar-cane, which is indigenous, and to make sugar, and some of them have large plantations, employing at times 40 men. They supply the ships with this useful article, and at some of the islands between 50 and 60 vessels touch in a single year. The natives of the islands send a considerable quantity away; I understand that one station sent as much as 40 tons away last year; in November last a vessel of 90 tons burthen, built in the islands, was sent to the colony of New South Wales laden with Tahitian grown sugar.

4417. Have they any slaves there?—Not since Christianity has been introduced; formerly captives taken in war were made slaves.

4418. Then Christianity, among other good effects, has *led to the abolition of slavery* among them?—They never considered the two things compatible. Besides the sugar they have been taught to cultivate, they prepare arrow-root, and they sent to England in one year, as I was informed by merchants in London, more than had been imported into this country for nearly 20 previous years. Cattle also have been introduced and preserved, chiefly by the missionaries; pigs, dogs, and rats were the only animals they had before, but the missionaries have introduced cattle among them. While they continued heathen, they disregarded, nay, destroyed some of those first landed among them, but since that time they have highly prized them, and by their attention to them they are now so numerous as to enable the natives to supply ships with fresh beef at the rate of 3*d.* a pound. The islanders have

also been instructed by the missionaries in the manufacture of cocoanut oil, of which large quantities are exported. They have been taught to cultivate tobacco, and this would have been a valuable article of commerce had not the duty in New South Wales been so high as to exclude that grown in the islands from the market. The above are some of the proofs that Christianity prepares the way for and necessarily leads to the civilization of those by whom it is adopted. There are now in operation among a people who, when the missionaries arrived, were destitute of a written language, 78 *schools, which contain between* 12,000 *and* 13,000 *scholars.* The Tahitians have also a simple, explicit and wholesome *code of laws*, as the result of their imbibing the principles of Christianity. This code of laws is printed and circulated among them, understood by all, and acknowledged by all as the supreme rule of action for all classes in their civil and social relations. The laws have been productive of great benefits. I have before me a copy of the code of laws printed in 1835, in the islands, and a translation also. The missionaries have often been charged with being opposed to the introduction of the means for the temporal improvement of the people. I might adduce the evidence of many witnesses to show that the labours of the missionaries, while chiefly directed to the spiritual improvement of the people, have originated and promoted the civilization of the most efficient kind. But I will only quote the testimony of one, a naval officer, Captain Beechy, who visited the island in 1826, and was there several months. After mentioning a number of changes, he refers to the laws. There were several instances in which he saw their operation. In reference to their practical working, he says, "The limit thus imposed on the arbitrary power of the monarch, and the security thus afforded to the liberties and properties of the people, reflect credit upon the missionaries, who were very instrumental in introducing these laws." And after adverting to a trial for theft, Captain Beechy, as quoted by Mr. Ellis, proceeds to say, "If we compare the fate which would have befallen the prisoners, supposing them innocent, had they been arraigned under the early form of government, with the transactions of this day, we cannot but congratulate the people on the introduction of the present penal code, and acknowledge that it is one of the greatest temporal blessings they have derived from the introduction of Christianity." Christianity, when received by an uncivilized people, not only leads to the adoption of salutary laws for preserving the peace of the community and cultivating the virtues of social life, but it secures *protection to the merchant and the mariner*, and the greatest *facilities for the extension of commerce.* Traffic can often only be carried on with uncivilized tribes at great risk, even of personal safety; but where missionaries have introduced the Gospel, our vessels go with safety and confidence. Formerly, when a wreck occurred, the natives hastened to plunder and to murder, or reserved those who escaped from the sea for sacrifices; now they succour them and protect their property. I could give many instances of this, but I content myself with one. It is contained in a letter left by Captain Chase, of the American ship Falcon, with the native teachers at Rumtu, at which island he had been wrecked:—

"The natives gave us all the assistance in their power, from the time the ship struck to the present moment. The first day, while landing the things from the ship, they were put into the hands of the natives, and carried up to the native mission-house, a distance of half a mile, and not a single article of clothing was taken from any man belonging

to the ship, though they had it in their power to have plundered us of everything that was landed. Since I have lived ashore, myself, officers and people have received the kindest treatment from the natives that can be imagined, for which I shall ever be thankful. Myself and officers have lived in the house of Buna (a teacher from Raiatea), who, together with his wife, has paid every attention to make us comfortable, for which I return my unfeigned thanks, being the only compensation I can make them at present."

The moral progress of this quarter of the world stated in this general survey is more particularly detailed by the missionariers of the several societies who have there laboured; and the testimony of all to the necessity of beginning with Christianity is the same. Thus a clergyman of the Church Missionary Society in New Zealand, says, in answer to the question "From the experience you have had in missionary exertions, would you begin by attempting to civilize or by attempting to christianize?—Certainly by attempting to christianize; 15 years we attempted to civilize without effect, and the very moment that Christianity established itself in only one instance in the island, from that moment civilization commenced, and has been going on, hand in hand with Christianity, but never preceded it.

In the case of New Zealand, it appears solely to have been the religious character of the missionaries which won for them the confidence of the people.

"We found them decidedly a savage people, addicted to canibalism, to murder and to everything which was evil, and accustomed to injuries from Europeans."

One of the first proofs of the influence which the missionaries had acquired, was given on the occasion of a war which some among them were desirous to terminate. The account is so characteristic of the manners of the people and of the missionaries' method of influencing them, that we transcribe the whole of it:

1615. In what instances have the missionaries exercised their influence in making peace between contending tribes?—The first instance was the battle of Hokianga. A young man, the son of a chief, came over to the Bay of Islands, and when he arrived there he took up a stone, and dashing it upon the ground, said, "This stone is Warrehumu." That is one of the greatest curses that he could utter; and the custom of the country is always to punish the tribe to which the party belongs that has uttered the curse, and not the party himself. Immediately that Warrehumu heard that he had been cursed by this man he went and began to punish the tribe, which punishment they resisted. One man loaded his musket with ball cartridge, and fired it into the midst of the party; a skirmish ensued; Warrehumu was shot dead, his wife and children and 20 of his men. The rest escaped, and told their tale in the Bay; and the chiefs assembled to consult together what they ought to do, and they were unanimously of opinion that it was impossible to make peace till they had had satisfaction in blood to double the amount shed on their side. There were two or three of them that were very desirous of making peace, on account of the great slaughter that must take place if they

fought, for they were equally well armed, and about 2,000 on each side; and one of the principal men jumped up in the midst of the consultation, and said, "There are these missionaries that have been talking to us for 15 years about peace, let us see what they can do." They came, and requested us to go. We went, five of us, in a body. We found 2,000 people on one side of a little eminence, and 2,000 on another side, within musket shot, waiting the arrival of the chiefs to commence the attack. We pitched our tent between them for three successive days; we went from tribe to tribe and from hut to hut to endeavour to make it up between them. At the end of that time there was great division in their councils, and we seemed to be as far from effecting our purpose as at the first moment; and then we requested them to leave the decision of it to one individual, which they resolved to do, and left it to Tareha, a chief of great importance in the Bay, but a very dreadful savage. We succeeded in getting him to our tent, and he resolved in his own mind to decide for peace; we tried to work upon his mind in the best manner we could.

1616. Is he connected with either of those parties?—Yes.

1617. Both parties placed it in his hands?—Yes, it was left to the Bay of Islanders to decide; the other people could not say a word.

1618. Was it in consequence of your communications with Tareha that he was induced to take the resolution in favour of peace?—Himself and the whole of the 4,000 people attributed it entirely to that, and from that moment we date our present influence in the country.

1619. Did you then secure peace between the contending tribes?—Yes; and they have been the firmest friends and allies of any distinct tribes we are acquainted with in the country ever since that time.

1620. What sort of arguments did you use with that person?—We first began to tell him of what would be the effect of it in lessening their own numbers, even if they gained the victory, and that the people from the south would then come down upon them, knowing that Hongi was dead, they would come in a body upon them and destroy them; and then we endeavoured to point out to him the evil of it in the sight of that God whom we came to make known. After our consultation he got up, and as he was passing out of the tent he said, "Perhaps I shall be for war, perhaps I shall be for peace, but I think I shall be for war; perhaps we shall fight, perhaps we shall not fight, but I think we shall fight." We then tried to work upon his fears; he was an enormously large man, and Mr. Williams called out to him, "Take care, Tareha, you are a very big man, and no musket-ball can pass by you."

1624. Was the result of your interference, that what would have probably been a bloody battle was prevented, and that peace was made between the contending tribes?—Yes; and they have remained upon the most friendly terms ever since.

1625. Do you believe that if it had not been for the interference of the missionaries this conflict would have taken place?—There is no question in my own mind, nor in the mind of any New Zealander I have ever met with.

1626. Did the measures which the missionaries took upon that occasion tend to extend and enlarge their influence afterwards?—Yes, throughout the whole country. It was made known in the southern parts of the island, and brought great numbers to request our interference in their quarrels also.

1627. Do you recollect any other instances in which the missionaries have been engaged in promoting peace?—Not in which I myself have

been engaged; but many in which my brethren have, at the different stations.

1628. Can you speak of those from that kind of information that you can confidently state that you know the facts?—Yes.

1629. Will you state any that have come to your knowledge in that way?—There was the battle of Tauranga: the first rise of that was, the captain of an English vessel, a whaling ship, had a quarrel with some women on board his vessel; he was very angry about it, and determined to get the natives of the interior to punish those on the coast for the insult which those two women had offered to him in that quarrel. He sent into the interior to fetch the chiefs, telling them they must come to fight a battle for the insult of those two women. They refused to do so, saying, that it was not according to New Zealand custom; that they only fought when people had done some real injury, but that they never fought when it was all mouth, and that this had been nothing but mouth, and consequently they refused to fight. He told them that he would make it known in England; that every one in England thought the New Zealanders were a brave people; but he would let the English people know, and let the King know that they were cowards; but that if they would fight he would supply them with arms and ammunition. They could not bear this, and therefore they resolved to fight. They brought down a great number of people. We were rather too late in going over; we did not know so much of it as we do sometimes; and about a quarter of an hour after the battle we saw a hundred of the people dead and wounded upon the beach. Then, according to the custom of the country, a number of the New Zealanders went to the south to seek satisfaction for the death of their friends. Those persons who went down intending to cut off some of the tribes of the south as a payment for the death of their friends, were fallen in with by a large armed party of the natives, and were all cut off themselves; 41 went and only one returned. This caused the whole of the Bay of Islanders to arm themselves and to go and fight with the tribes of the south for the loss of those 40. There were between 50 and 60 canoes. The canoes were attended by our missionary ship, the Active, the missionary boat, and a small cutter that we have. Mr. Williams accompanied the flotilla. They were five weeks before the fortification of the besieged, negociating with the besiegers, but without effect, the first five weeks. The missionaries then returned home, and afterwards, not satisfied, they went back again. Mr. Williams went down in his boat a second time, with Mr. Chapman, Mr. Kemp, and Mr. Fairburn, and effected a reconciliation between the two parties. The Bay of Islanders returned home without having destroyed a single individual.

Mr. Coates, the secretary of the Church Missionary Society, gives a long list of improvements effected in New Zealand; we take this paragraph as being of the latest date, 14 December, 1835:—

* * * * "The scene in the Waimate and its vicinity is much changed, and we may truly be said to live in a civilized country. Our neighbours, those not connected with the seaports, are civil, courteous, honest and teachable. Locks and bolts are but little used, and but little needed; working tools are safe, although lying in all directions. Ten years ago a person scarcely dared to lay a tool down, as it was almost sure to be stolen."

The general results of the mission in New Zealand are thus stated :—

1782. What have been the effects of the exertions of the missionaries in a general manner?—Abolishing their superstitious observances, establishing the Sabbath, rendering the natives more industrious, bringing a large proportion of their land into a state of cultivation, preventing war, ameliorating the condition of the slaves, and making the language a written one."

Amongst other benefits conferred by Christianity, the amelioration of the laws of the islanders is undoubtedly one of the most important. * * *

We find that the missionaries have often been successful mediators between the natives and those who have injured them.

The missionaries made it their business to teach their converts useful trades. * * *

They are " very apt indeed" at learning mechanical trades.

It is a remarkable feature in this work, that it has been greatly extended by the agency of the converted natives themselves, since it has always formed a part of the missionary system to employ native teachers to propagate Christianity. * * *

Thus, then, amidst these clusters of islands, containing a population known to exceed a million, and perhaps of several millions, a change (as we have seen) of unequalled importance, because affecting so large a mass of mankind, has been begun in our own time, and has been almost imperceptibly going forward.

The first attempt made for their conversion was in 1797; for 17 years the work appeared to make no progress, and in Europe no other notion was entertained of these people than that they were idolaters and cannibals, and their country a rude and barbarous wilderness, without arts, without commerce, without civilization, and without the rudiments of Christianity. Such was the estimate, not inaccurately formed, of their state 20 years ago. Within this brief space, under no other agency than the influence of Christian truth, they have conveyed a cargo of idols to the depôt of the Missionary Society in London; they have become factors to furnish our vessels with provisions, and merchants to deal with us in the agricultural growth of their own country. Their language has been reduced to writing, and they have gained the knowledge of letters. They have, many of them, emerged from the tyranny of the will of their chiefs into the protection of a written law, abounding with liberal and enlightened principles, and 200,000 of them are reported to have embraced Christianity.

With respect to the native tribes of South Africa, the copious evidence taken by your Committee, has related rather to their

civil affairs than to their moral and religious condition. It is not now necessary to repeat the circumstances of oppression under which, till within a late period, the Hottentots laboured. They had fallen, as we have seen, into a state of bondage to the farmers, through a system of forced contracts of service, and of apprenticeship of their children; both of which are noticed with strong disapprobation by the Commissioners of Inquiry. * * *

After noticing some of the attempts made by the different missionary societies for the improvement of the Hottentots, the Report proceeds thus:—

At this time an experiment was made which proves what may be done for men by merely giving fair play to the motives which stimulate honest industry. It is thus detailed by the present Lieutenant-governor of the frontier:

The Government, wishing to give full effect to the provisions of the 50th Ordinance, and well aware that this law could never operate to its full extent in favour of the class in whose behalf it had been framed, without a fair field being opened for the exertions of its industry, determined on the experiment of allotting lands to a certain number of Hottentot families. This experiment was intended to be upon a small scale. Hottentots of good character, or possessing property, were invited to settle in the branches of the Kat River. They were to be located in the immediate vicinity of the Caffres, who were then in a state of great irritation against the colony. Some families of Hottentots soon made their appearance on the spot; few of these possessed property to any amount; they were poor, as might be expected, but were generally known to be steady men. It was soon, however, found to be impossible to draw a line of distinction. Hottentots flocked in from all quarters, many of them known to be indifferent characters; even some of those who till then had been vagabondizing came and begged to be tried. To exclude these became difficult; to refuse a man the opportunity of bettering his condition only because it was suspected that he would prove unworthy, appeared cruel. In the mean time the Caffres threatened the new settlements, and it became necessary to arm the new settlers, or to expose them to be massacred; ruin was anticipated from such a step. The Caffres with their assagais were thought less dangerous to the colony than a congregation of Hottentots armed with muskets, with little or nothing to eat. That these men would turn the weapons which we had put into their hands against ourselves as well as against the Caffres, and that the country would be deluged with blood, was confidently predicted. The clamour became loud, and the projectors themselves began to doubt whether they might not have acted too rashly; but the step, whether wise or rash, was taken; hundreds of able-bodied men, well armed and supplied with ammunition, but with little food, were within hail of each other; hungry men so circumstanced, might (it was thought) make short work of the numberless flocks of the Caffres and colonists on both sides and all round them. Such were the predictions then expressed; but the conduct of the Hottentots soon gave them a practical contradiction. They were told "Show yourselves worthy of freedom, and your farther improvement is in your own

power." Instead of collecting in a mass, eating and sleeping until the little they then had should be consumed, and then carrying fire and destruction over the country, and allowing the Caffres to surprise them, cut all their throats, and with their muskets carry on a more equal warfare with the colony, as was anticipated, they set immediately to work, cut canals which, considering their tools and the rock and indurated soil through which they had to penetrate, would have been thought impracticable. They cultivated, by means of the most miserable implements, an extent of country which surprised every body who visited the locations, including the governor. Those who had no food lived upon wild roots and by working for those who had something; these again were obliged to economise to support their families, until in a few months they had an abundance of pumpkins, Indian corn, peas, beans, &c. Instead of apathy or indifference about property, they become (now that they had property to contend for) as covetous and litigious about land and water as any other set of colonists. They display the utmost anxiety to have schools established among them. Several of these schools are in a flourishing state, and so eager are they for instruction, that if they find only one amongst them who can spell, where nothing better can be obtained, they get him to teach that little to the rest. They travel considerable distances to attend divine service regularly; their spiritual guides speak with delight of the fruits of their labours. Nowhere have temperance societies succeeded half so well as among this people, formerly so prone to intemperance. They have themselves petitioned the government that their grants may contain a prohibition against the establishment of canteens or brandy houses. They have repulsed the Caffres on every occasion on which they have been attacked, and are now on the best of terms with that nation. They have cost the government nothing beyond the salary of their minister, from 15 to 20 mudes of Indian corn, and a few more of oats given them for seed the first year, 1829, and the loan of the muskets, together with a little ammunition given them for their own protection as well as that of the country in general. They pay every tax like the rest of the people; they have rendered the Kat River decidedly by far the safest part of the frontier; and the same plan, followed upon a more extensive scale, would soon enable Government to withdraw the troops altogether, and put an end to that desultory warfare which must retard the improvement both in the colony and its barbarous neighbours, whilst no excuse would be left for Hottentot vagrancy.

Petty misdemeanors we must suppose occur in this as in every community, but they have not hitherto cost the public a magistrate, and the nearest functionary of the kind is two long days' ride distant. I only recollect two cases tried before the civil courts in which settlers of the Kat River were the accused; one was a Bushman who had stolen some goats before he had joined the settlement, and was taken up after he had reached it, and the other was the case of two Hottentots who had stolen a Caffre cow, which was discovered by the vigilance of the head of the party to which they belonged, who arrested and sent them prisoners to Graham's Town, though the owner of the cow wished to make up the matter, by receiving back another cow. In short, the most prejudiced men who have travelled through the locations admit that the Hottentots have done wonders; that as far as the land is arable they have made a garden of it from one end to the other; they have already supplied the military posts with forage and provisions to a considerable extent, and just as I was embarking the commissary-general handed

to me a memorandum of some of their tenders which he had just accepted. The above statement may possibly by some be considered as too favourable, and individuals may be found who, jealous of the success of this experiment, in refutation of all their sinister predictions, may point out indolent and bad characters in the Kat River settlement, such of course existing there as well as in every other place where numbers of men are congregated. But to these objectors I would reply, that I never meant to represent the Hottentots as faultless or better than any other race of people in the aggregate. I have only wished to show that as soon as they were treated as reasonable beings they acted reasonably, and the facts now stated can be proved to the letter.

The difficulties of the undertaking are further told. Dr. Philip says, speaking of the Kat River settlement, "I saw in one instance, in 1832, a Bushman location, and at that time they had been very recently established on that location, and they had nothing whatever when they were first located there. They borrowed a hatchet; they made a wooden plough without one iron nail in it, entirely of wood, and with this they cultivated their land. They received from the first crop enough to supply them through the winter, and something to sell. In the second year they cultivated to a greater extent; they had then a very excellent plough, which they made, themselves with an iron coulter; they had also made a waggon for themselves; they had had no previous advantages whatever; they were literally in the situation which Captain Stockenstrom mentions, when they asked him what they were to do for means to cultivate their ground. 'If you are not able,' said he, 'to do it with your fingers, you need not go there.' But they had resources in their own minds, and those resources were brought into action, and with the most complete success."

The Rev. J. Read states, "They had to form dams across the river and water-courses, sometimes to the depth of 10, 12 and 14 feet, and that sometimes through solid rock, and with very sorry pickaxes, iron crows and spades, and few of them. These works have excited the admiration of visitors; they had to cut roads also on the sides of mountains of considerable height. An obstacle was raised, in the beginning, to the Hottentots residing alone; a mixture was recommended of Dutch and English. The Hottentots begged and prayed to be left alone for a few years, and Captain Stockenstrom entered into their feeling, and said to them, 'Then show to the world that you can work as well as others, and that without the shambok (the whip).'"

They did work, and as a proof that they did not relax in their industry, we may mention that, according to Colonel Wade, they had, in 1833, completed 55 canals for irrigation, of which 44 measured nearly 24 miles. They were not disheartened by common accidents, such as a drought and a sickness amongst the horses, and the settlement continued to prosper beyond the most sanguine expectations of Captain Stockenstrom, who planned, and the

Government who promoted the experiments; and as Colonel Wade remarks, the statement of its progress afforded the "best evidence that the Hottentots could be industrious, and were as capable of contending with ordinary difficulties as their fellow-men."

But there is another important fact to be noticed with regard to the Kat River settlement. It took, at its very commencement, a religious character, to which, as we believe, may be ascribed its subsequent well-doing. Many of the leaders and the men, who set the example of industry, had been educated at missionary establishments, and so impressed were they with the necessity of religious administrations, that they would not remain without a missionary, and sent for Mr. Read within a few months after their establishment. The Rev. W. Thompson was also appointed Dutch minister at the Kat River, and both have spoken with the greatest satisfaction of the people. Mr. Read says of them:—

"The people were moral; many had been addicted to drinking brandy, and that to excess; but when the temperance society was established, about 1,700 signed its rules, and when I left only four or five persons in three years had broken through the rules. Although wine is not included in the rule, yet most of the people refrain from taking any; they also sent a memorial to the governor, requesting that their grants for their lands might be given so as never to admit a canteen in the settlement. Religion flourished among them. I baptized about 260 adults during the four years and a half that I was with them, besides children, and the number of church members was about 400; the attendance on religious worship was great; on Sunday we were obliged to divide into two congregations, and the conduct of the people was most uniform. The older people were most zealous for instruction themselves, and very anxious to have their children educated, and for the latter object bore some of the expenses themselves. We had seven schools for the larger children and one school of industry, besides five infant schools, mostly carried on by native teachers, receiving a small salary from the Missionary Society, and generally supported in provisions by the people. There are connected with our congregation about three-fourths of the settlement. * * *

Had it indeed depended on the Hottentots, we believe the frontier would have been spared the outrages from which they, as well as others, have suffered. Their flourishing settlement was thrown into confusion by the Caffre invasion, and the predominance of martial law, and the missionaries were ordered from their stations. We are informed that the "Kat River local force" behaved steadily and bravely in the war, and we hope that their loyalty may be speedily rewarded by a restoration of the privileges of which they were disposed to make so good an use. The native teachers are, we are told, carrying on the work of education to the best of their power; but they are extremely anxious for the return of their missionaries.

The northern frontier of our colony, an extent of 300 miles, is bordered by the Griquas, a mixed race, "the offspring of colonists by Hottentot females, who finding themselves treated as inferior by

their kinsmen of European blood, and prevented from acquiring the possession of land, or any fixed property, within the colony, about fifty years ago sought a refuge from contumely and oppression among the native tribes beyond its limits, where their numbers were gradually augmented by refugees of the same class from the colony, and by intermarriages with females of the Bushmen and Coranna tribes around them." In these people we find a striking instance of the benefit of missionary restraints; and they afford a remarkable contrast with the Caffres on the north-eastern frontier, whose unsettled state has not allowed them as yet to take the mould of their teachers. * * * *

A fact mentioned by Dr. Philip marks the influence which the missionaries early acquired over the Griquas in leading them to acts of justice. They have been accused, and with much probability of truth, of having, whilst themselves in a savage state, treated the Bushmen with barbarity, and expelled them from the greater part of their country. This, however, was before the missionaries went to them. "I never understood that when the missionaries discovered the fountains, where Griqua Town now stands, there were any tribes or persons in occupation of the place. They found that part of the country empty, and they took possession of it. Shortly after, they discovered some springs of water at a place which was named Campbell. This place was about 40 miles distant from Griqua Town, and there was only one Bushman and his family upon it; and Adam Kok, late chief of Philippolis, paid him 150 dollars for the fountain he claimed as belonging to him. This transaction shews, that at a very early period, the Griquas had imbibed some principles of justice, towards the Bushmen from the missionaries. This fact was brought to my knowledge by the following circumstance. When Campbell was put under the jurisdiction of Waterboer by the treaty Sir Benjamin D'Urban entered into with that chief, Adam Kok, the chief of Philippolis, preferred his claim for the 150 dollars he had paid for that fountain, which claim, after an investigation of the circumstances, was allowed, and the money was paid to him."

Long after the settlement of the Griquas, they not only tolerated the Bushmen in the land, but in 1832, when, as we have seen, Dr. Philip did not see a single Bushman kraal in the Bushman country within the colony, he passed 11 kraals between Philippolis and the Yellow River, the inhabitants of all of which spoke of the Griquas as their benefactors, and the only people to whom they could look up for protection. The Griquas are said to have once held the Bushmen in slavery. "They now," says Mr. Moffat, "regard the practice with abhorrence." We regret to say that our farmers are less scrupulous, as is proved by the following fact mentioned by Mr. Moffat:—"The Bushmen in general are attached to their children. Many applications for them have been rejected by the parents, though the price offered has been raised with a view to

tempt them. One Bushman was induced to yield his consent to give up his child for a cow, and a Griqua farmer was applied to, to lend one for the purpose of effecting the bargain. The Griqua seemed to appeal to me for advice how to act, stating that his heart forbade him; and as I discouraged him, he refused to give the cow, and the bargain was consequently broken off. The Bushmen in question were living from choice with the Griquas, and perfectly free; and application was made to Berandt, one of the Griqua captains, to influence the Bushmen to sell their children, and he observed to me, that he could not do it; that it was slave-trade to barter for children: and what was he to think of our people who could make such a proposal to him,"

Having got the Griquas to settle, Mr. Anderson next induced them to adopt a more regular form of government, and also got the Colonial Government to confirm a chief of their electing.

They do not, however, appear to have been willing to profess entire subjection to the Colonial Government, and their refusing to furnish recruits in 1814 gave great umbrage. It was with some difficulty that Dr. Philip obtained leave for the continuance of the mission among these people: the missionaries were, however, suffered to remain, and in 1819 the connexion with the colony was strengthened by the establishment of a fair at Beaufort, for the mutual benefit of the colonists and the native tribes, of whom the Griquas were the principal dealers. "At the first fair the business done by that people amounted to 27,000 rix dollars; and on most of the goods sold to the Griquas by the colonists the latter had a profit of from 200 to 500 per cent. In 1820 a second fair was held, which terminated as successfully as the first. On that occasion about 200 people attended, with 27 waggons, loaded with elephants' teeth, salt, skins of all sorts, wheat, honey, and various curiosities, driving before them upwards of 700 oxen. This circumstance shows that missionaries have been the instruments of elevating considerably the character and condition of this people. I was informed by several respectable and intelligent individuals present, that the strangers not only vied with the colonists in preserving order, but that the praise of sobriety was so decidedly on their side, as on several occasions to induce the chief magistrate present to speak of their conduct with admiration, and point them out as examples to the colonists." * * * *

That education is rapidly advancing among the Griquas, we have a casual illustration in a paper relating to the succession to one of the chieftainships, in which it is observed that a certain candidate "cannot write, and therefore will have no support among the people." Now the majority of the tribe, consisting of that portion to whom instruction has been afforded, are, as we are told, "well disposed, and anxious to live at peace with us;" and they afford a fresh instance of the natural connection of an appreciation of the advantages of education, with a friendly feeling towards Europeans.

This is a fact which, whether we look at it in reference to the interests of religion and humanity, or to its effect on the security of property, or to its influence in procuring us at once the best and the cheapest defence against the inroads of the neighbouring tribes, deserves peculiar notice; and an instructive contrast may be drawn between the tranquillity of this large extent of our northern frontier, protected by tribes humanized by Christianity, and treated with some consideration by our Government, and the constant disturbances along the 80 miles of the north-eastern boundary, fortified, as it has been, by a large military establishment against the inroads of exasperated natives. "As it is," says Captain Stockenstrom, "you will find, by the statements of the military commandant himself of 1831, that then, after so many years of military coercion, the frontier was in as deplorable a condition as it ever had been. Would any man tell you that it is because there are not troops enough? Let him then say how many it would take to protect a frontier of 800 miles, if 1,000 cannot do so with 80 miles."—"If the present system be persevered in, we may require the troops to be increased tenfold, for every cottage and every flock may require a guard; and, by an opposite course, we may hope to see them dispensed with altogether." * * * *

We have yet another example to bring of the benefit we have derived from missionary influence upon bordering nations; and it shall be taken from the quarter to which we have of late been especially led to look with apprehension. So great has been the effect of missionaries upon the Caffre race, that Captain Stockenstrom (as we however think erroneously) would even estimate their political beyond their religious usefulness. He says, "Their influence is really wonderful; but it is more of a political than a religious nature. Look at what Mr. Shaw's influence has done with one set of Caffres in the midst of all this last war; that decidedly is political; and if we look at the number of real converts which they have made in a religious point of view, I should think they would be found few in proportion to those who have been kept out of harm's way in other respects."

The Committee next advert to the introduction of Christianity among the Caffres.

Under these favourable circumstances, Christianity gradually took hold of the people's minds. They disputed every inch of ground with us; they were willing to go into inquiry, but we found them very different in that respect to the Hottentots in the colony, who always receive with implicit credit what is stated to them by their teachers. The Caffres exhibited considerable powers of mind, and were not willing to receive any dogma until it was proved to their satisfaction. At length, however, "the truths of the Christian religion made a deep impression on many of them; the chiefs regularly attended divine worship; some of their own children

learned to read and write. Kama and his wife, a daughter of the late Gaika, embraced the Christian faith, and were baptized; and my successors," writes Mr. Shaw, "have favourably reported since of the continued progress of Christianity amongst them." The Sabbath has been recognized by proclamation of the chiefs; and it is stated that the "effect of the Gospel in promoting public morals and humanizing the people is observable by all who visit that tribe." Whilst inculcating the doctrines of Christianity, Mr. Shaw neglected not the civilization of the people; and he succeeded in raising them from purely nomadic to agricultural habits. He taught them the use of the plough, an implement difficult for them to purchase, but seeing the advantage of it, they managed to acquire ploughs, and also waggons with teams of oxen. They have built a beautiful village at Wesleyville, with houses much in the same style as those of European settlers. Many of the tribe adopted an European dress; and such was their demand for British manufactures, that Mr. Shaw applied to the Government to found a shop or store for the sale of British goods. The Wesleyan missionaries have published a grammar of the Caffre language, and have translated and printed nearly the whole of the New Testament and a portion of the Old; and the school children (who are described as being very intelligent) can read the Scriptures in their own language. Many barbarous customs have given way before the light and knowledge introduced by missionaries. "Their heathenish cruelties," says Mr. Kay, "have been materially checked. On every mission station the various superstitious ceremonies to which the people have been accustomed from time immemorial, are almost wholly laid aside. Some of these were of the most inhuman character, inflicting torture and excruciating pain, by means of stinging insects; of branding with hot stones; of roasting or of burning, until nearly dead. Their sorcerers or rain-makers, also, a class of impostors, and the universal ringleaders in all this kind of cruelty, with whom every missionary has had more or less to contend, have been put to flight; being, confessedly, unable to dwell where the light of the Gospel shines. I very much question, therefore, whether one of these men could now be found within a circle of many miles round about any of the stations. This circumstance will appear the more important when I state that the living stand in constant dread of them; their property, and even life itself, being placed in jeopardy the moment they begin to call an assembly; and all being kept in perfect suspense, as to the object of vengeance, until they announce their verdict, which is uniformly based upon some supposed witchcraft." On the first appearance of hostilities Pato, Kama, and Cobus, sent messengers to every part of Caffreland, with the hope of stopping them. They afforded refuge to all the British traders who fled to them, patrolled their boundary to stop marauders, and reinforced a post under the command of a British officer.

In the feeling of the Christian chiefs that to destroy the bonds of

union with Christian and civilized men, is to replunge their people into barbarism, and to annul the advantages that they have learnt to prize, lies, we are convinced, the main security we have for peace and quietness on our borders.

To bring barbarians, however, to this opinion, must require a certain continuance of equable and temperate policy towards them; and the experiment of subduing their fierceness, by the mild influence of civilization, remains to be tried on those tribes who have most distinguished themselves in the late lamentable hostilities. We fear that Macomo has had too much reason to allege to Dr. Philip, who was urging him to have his children sent to school, "All that you have said is very good; but I am shot at every day; my huts are set fire to, and I can only sleep with one eye open, and the other eye shut; I do not know where my place is, and how can I get my children to be instructed?"

Tzatzoe, who is himself a Christian, and who has himself laboured for the conversion of his countrymen, says that the "word of God had once made a deep impression upon the Caffres;" but the commando of Colonel Frazer put a stop to the labours of the missionaries, and that since that time commandos have continued, and the people have not been able to learn. The Caffres say, "We might learn if we were not teazed every day;" and Tzatzoe adds, "Whenever the missionaries preach to the Caffres, or whenever I myself preach or speak to my countrymen, they say, 'Why do not the missionaries first go and preach to the people on the other side; why do not they preach to their own countrymen, and convert them first.'"

Some progress was made in the instruction of these turbulent, irritated spirits, when affairs came unhappily to the crisis, which put a stop to all attempts of the kind. Tzatzoe himself had at his place a missionary, Mr. Brownlee, and a church, capable of containing 300 persons, generally filled on the Sunday; together with schools; and though these incipient improvements have, we fear, been crushed by the events of the war, and the occupation of the station by the British troops, it is yet satisfactory to find him expressing his opinion, that "If peaceable relations and a good understanding between the Caffres and the colony were established, and if a state of tranquillity were restored to the Caffre nation, they would yet gladly receive missionaries, and attend to instruction." * * *

In reviewing the general case before us, we have endeavoured to fix our attention rather on the requirements of justice and morality than on the motives of interest. It may not, however, be irrelevant to observe, that the latter are in close alliance with the former, and that we cannot infringe on these without sacrificing true economy. We again beg to be distinctly understood, that we are making no charge against the body of English settlers: we believe them to have been great losers by a course of mistaken policy: and we commiserate the misfortunes which this has brought upon great numbers who have taken no active part in abetting a system of irri-

tation. In the matter of commerce alone they have been losers; for we have abundant evidence to show that the Caffres were acquiring an increasing desire for British manufactures, and that this unhappy war interrupted a trade which, though of late growth, had amounted to at least 30,000*l.* per annum in the purchase of European commodities.*

This fact, coupled with the knowledge of the profit we already derive from other nations in an incipient state of civilization, proves the utility to ourselves of cultivating with them the relations of peace and of mutual good understanding; and we repeat our conviction, that the most effectual mode of making such nations desirable neighbours, is the giving them Christian instruction, and allowing them, through the equity and the moderation of our political conduct, a fair opportunity to profit by the instruction afforded.

CONCLUSION.

YOUR Committee cannot recapitulate the evils which have been the result of the intercourse between civilized and barbarous nations more truly, than in the summary contained in the interrogation and responses of the secretaries of the three Missionary societies most conversant with the subject, and to which we have already referred.

4329. To Mr. *Coates.*] Is it your opinion that Europeans coming into contact with native inhabitants of our settlements tends (with the exception of cases in which missions are established) to deteriorate the morals of the natives; to introduce European vices; to spread among them new and dangerous diseases; to accustom them to the use of ardent spirits; to the use of European arms and instruments of destruction; to the seduction of native females; to the decrease of the native population; and to prevent the spread of civilization, education, commerce and Christianity: and that the effect of European intercourse has been, upon the whole, a calamity to the heathen and savage nations. In the first place, is it your opinion that European contact with native inhabitants, always excepting the cases in which missions have been established, tends to deteriorate the morals of the natives?—Yes.

4330. To Mr. *Beecham.*] Do you concur in that opinion?—Yes.

4331. To Mr. *Ellis.*] Do you concur in that opinion?—Certainly.

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* Lord Glenelg's Despatch to Sir B. D'Urban, 26 December, 1834, p. 64. The Rev. S. Kay states, that not a trader was travelling in Caffraria at the time the missionaries commenced their labours; when the war broke out 200 traders were in that country.

4332. Does it tend to introduce European vices?—Mr. *Coates.*] Yes. —Mr. *Beecham.*] Yes.—Mr. *Ellis.*] Yes.

4333. Does it tend to spread among them new and dangerous diseases?—Mr. *Coates.*] Yes.—Mr. *Beecham.*] Yes.—Mr. *Ellis.*] Yes.

4334. Does it tend to accustom them to the use of ardent spirits?—Mr. *Coates.*] Yes.—Mr. *Beecham.*] Yes.—Mr. *Ellis.*]—Yes.

4335. And to the use of European arms and instruments of destruction?—Mr. *Coates.*] Yes; but might I add a word which would go rather to express a doubt whether the ultimate result of that be injurious to the savage nations? but that it has the tendency suggested in the question, I have no doubt.—Mr. *Beecham.*] Yes.—Mr. *Ellis.*] Yes.

4336. To the seduction of native females?—Mr. *Coates.*] Yes.—Mr. *Beecham.*] Yes.—Mr. *Ellis.*] Yes.

4337. To the decrease of population?—Mr. *Coates.*] Yes.—Mr. *Beecham.*] Yes.—Mr. *Ellis.*] Yes.

4338. Does it tend to impede that civilization which, if Europeans properly conducted themselves, might be introduced?—Mr. *Coates.*] Certainly.—Mr. *Beecham.*] Yes.—Mr. *Ellis.*] I have no doubt that it does.

4339. The same as to education?—Mr. *Coates.*] Certainly.—Mr. *Beecham.*] Yes.—Mr. *Ellis.*] Certainly.

4340. The same as to commerce?—Mr. *Coates.*] Certainly.—Mr. *Beecham.*] Yes.—Mr. *Ellis.*] Yes.

4341. Is it your opinion that it tends to prevent the spread of the Christian Gospel?—Mr. *Coates.*] Most assuredly.—Mr. *Beecham.*] Yes.—Mr. *Ellis.*] Yes.

4342. Is it generally your opinion that the effect of European intercourse, saving where missions have been established, has been, upon the whole, hitherto a calamity upon the native and savage nations whom we have visited?—Mr. *Coates.*] That I have no doubt about.—Mr. *Beecham.*] Yes, generally.—Mr. *Ellis.*] Generally, I should think it has.

4343. As far as you know, in instances of contention between Europeans and natives, has it generally happened that the Europeans were in fault?—Mr. *Coates.*] Universally, so far as I have information upon the subject.—Mr. *Beecham.*] Yes.—Mr. *Ellis.*] I have not met with an instance in which, when investigated, it has not been found that the aggression was upon the part of the Europeans.

These allegations have, we conceive, been clearly proved in the evidence of which we have given an abstract; and we have also seen the effects of conciliatory conduct, and of Christian instruction. One of the two systems we must have to preserve our own security, and the peace of our colonial borders; either an overwhelming military force with all its attendant expenses, or a line of temperate conduct and of justice towards our neighbours.

"The main point which I would have in view," said a witness before your Committee, "would be trade, commerce, peace and civilization. The other alternative is extermination; for you can stop nowhere; you must go on; you may have a short respite when you have driven panic into the people, but you must come back to the same thing until you have shot the last man." From all the bulky evidence before us, we can come to no other conclusion; and

considering the power, and the mighty resources of the British nation, we must believe that the choice rests with ourselves.

Great Britain has, in former times, countenanced evils of great magnitude,—slavery and the slave-trade; but for these she has made some atonement; for the latter, by abandoning the traffic; for the former, by the sacrifice of 20 millions of money. But for these offences there was this apology; they were evils of an ancient date, a kind of prescription might be pleadedfor them, and great interests were entwined with them.

An evil remains very similar in character, and not altogether unfit to be compared with them in the amount of misery it produces. The oppression of the natives of barbarous countries is a practice which pleads no claim to indulgence; it is an evil of comparatively recent origin, imperceptible and unhallowed in its growth; it never has had even the colour of sanction from the legislature of this country; no vested rights are associated with it, and we have not the poor excuse that it contributes to any interest of the state. On the contrary, in point of economy, of security, of commerce, of reputation, it is a short-sighted and disastrous policy. As far as it has prevailed, it has been a burthen on the empire. It has thrown impediments in the way of successful colonization; it has engendered wars, in which great expenses were necessarily incurred, and no reputation could be won; and it has banished from our confines, or exterminated, the natives, who might have been profitable workmen, good customers, and good neighbours. These unhappy results have not flowed from any determination on the part of the government of this country to deal hardly with those who are in a less advanced state of society; but they seem to have arisen from ignorance, from the difficulty which distance interposes in checking the cupidity and punishing the crimes of that adventurous class of Europeans who lead the way in penetrating the territory uncivilized man, and from the system of dealing with the rights of the natives. Many reasons unite for apprehending that the evils which we have described will increase if the duty of coming to a solemn determination as to the policy we shall adopt towards ruder nations be now neglected; the chief of these reasons is, the national necessity of finding some outlet for the superabundant population of Great Britain and Ireland. It is to be feared that, in the pursuit of this benevolent and laudable object, the rights of those who have not the means of advocating their interests or exciting sympathy for their sufferings, may be disregarded.

This, then, appears to be the moment for the nation to declare, that with all its desire to give encouragement to emigration, and to find a soil to which our surplus population may retreat, it will tolerate no scheme which implies violence or fraud in taking possession of such a territory; that it will no longer subject itself to the guilt of conniving at oppression, and that it will take upon itself the task

of defending those who are too weak and too ignorant to defend themselves.

Your Committee have hitherto relied chiefly on arguments, showing that no national interest, even in its narrowest sense, is subserved by encroachments on the territory or disregard of the rights of the aboriginal inhabitants of barbarous countries; but they feel it their duty to add, that there is a class of motives of a higher order which conduce to the same conclusion.

The British empire has been signally blessed by Providence, and her eminence, her strength, her wealth, her prosperity, her intellectual, her moral and her religious advantages, are so many reasons for peculiar obedience to the laws of Him who guides the destinies of nations. These were given for some higher purpose than commercial prosperity and military renown. "It is not to be doubted that this country has been invested with wealth and power, with arts and knowledge, with the sway of distant lands, and the mastery of the restless waters, for some great and important purpose in the government of the world. Can we suppose otherwise than that it is our office to carry civilization and humanity, peace and good government, and, above all, the knowledge of the true God, to the uttermost ends of the earth?" He who has made Great Britain what she is, will inquire at our hands how we have employed the influence He has lent to us in our dealings with the untutored and defenceless savage; whether it has been engaged in seizing their lands, warring upon their people, and transplanting unknown disease, and deeper degradation, through the remote regions of the earth; or whether we have, as far as we have been able, informed their ignorance, and invited and afforded them the opportunity of becoming partakers of that civilization, that innocent commerce, that knowledge and that faith with which it has pleased a gracious Providence to bless our own country.

SUGGESTIONS.

Having thus adverted to some of the more remarkable of those incidents by which the intercourse between the British Colonies and the Aborigines in their vicinity has been characterized, it remains to consider how the recurrence of similar calamities can be most effectually averted.

It is obviously difficult to combine in one code rules to govern our intercourse with nations standing in different relationships towards us. Some are independent communities; others are, by the nature of treaties, or the force of circumstances, under the protection

of Great Britain, and yet retain their own laws and usages; some are our subjects, and have no laws but such as we impose.

To this variety in their circumstances must be added a variety as great in their moral and physical condition. They are found in all the grades of advancement, from utter barbarism to semi-civilization.

To propose regulations which shall apply to our own subjects and to independent tribes, to those emerging from barbarism, and to those in the rudest state of nature, is a task from which your Committee would shrink, were it not that all the witnesses, differing as they do upon almost every other topic, unite in ascribing much of the evil which has arisen to the uncertainty and vacillation of our policy. Your Committee cannot too forcibly recommend that no exertion should be spared, and no time lost, in distinctly settling and declaring the principles which shall henceforth guide and govern our intercourse with those vast multitudes of uncivilized men, who may suffer in the greatest degree, or in the greatest degree be benefited, by that intercourse.

The regulations which we would suggest for that purpose are either general or special; that is, they either extend to all parts of the globe in which we are brought into contact with uncivilized tribes, or they apply only to the particular case of some one settlement. In the first place, therefore, we will advert to those general regulations which we have to suggest, and which may be reduced under nine separate heads.

I.—Protection of Natives to devolve on the Executive.
II.—Contracts for Service to be limited.
III.—Sale of ardent Spirits to be prevented.
IV.—Regulations as to Lands within British Dominions.
V.—New Territories not to be acquired without Sanction of Home Government.
VI.—Religious Instruction and Education to be provided.
VII.—Punishment of Crimes.
VIII.—Treaties with Natives inexpedient.
IX.—Missionaries to be encouraged.

Each of these is treated of at some length by the Committee.

NORTH AMERICA.

On the subject of the relations between the British colonies in North America and the Aborigines on that continent, your Committee abstain from offering any specific suggestions, because they understand that Her Majesty's Government have for some time past

been engaged in correspondence respecting it with the Lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, and that the case, although as yet immature for decision, will probably engage the attention of Parliament whenever the estimates for the expenses of what is called the Indian department shall be brought under the consideration of the House of Commons. Your Committee are unwilling to embarrass the Government by suggestions, which, being offered during the pendency of the discussions on the subject, might proceed upon imperfect grounds and point to erroneous conclusions.

THE END.

Joseph Rickerby, Printer, Sherbourn Lane.

EFFECTS OF THE INTRODUCTION

OF

ARDENT SPIRITS

AND

IMPLEMENTS OF WAR,

AMONGST THE

NATIVES OF SOME OF THE SOUTH-SEA ISLANDS AND NEW SOUTH WALES.

EXTRACTED FROM THE LETTERS AND JOURNAL OF

DANIEL WHEELER,

A MINISTER OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS,

WHO HAS RECENTLY RETURNED FROM A RELIGIOUS VISIT TO THE INHABITANTS OF THOSE PLACES.

SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:

EDWARD MARSH, 84, HOUNDSDITCH.

1843.

[Tracts relative to the Aborigines, No. 2.]

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EFFECTS

OF THE

INTRODUCTION OF ARDENT SPIRITS,

&c.

THE extensive and increasing intercourse between our own countrymen and the inhabitants of the South Sea Islands and New Holland involves a high degree of responsibility; and it is greatly to be desired that this intercourse, instead of injuring those with whom our countrymen come in contact, should be made a means of promoting their moral and religious welfare. With this view, it is important that the evils and vices which at present interfere with, and in some instances wholly prevent so desirable a result, should be more generally known, in order that they may be effectually repressed, and this foul stigma upon the Christian as well as the British name be effaced. Under this conviction it has been apprehended that some benefit might result from the circulation of the information contained in the following pages, compiled from the journal and letters of Daniel Wheeler, of Shoosharry, near Petersburg.

Daniel Wheeler, who is an approved minister of the Society of Friends, having believed himself called in the love of the Gospel to pay a religious visit to the inhabitants of some of the Islands of the Pacific Ocean, of New

South Wales, and Van Dieman's Land, and being furnished with the needful certificates from the Society of Friends, sailed from the Motherbank, off the Isle of Wight, in the "Henry Freeling," of 106 tons, (a vessel purchased purposely for the occasion,) the 15th of 3rd mo. 1834, reached Rio de Janeiro the 13th of 5th mo., and after a stormy passage of nearly four months from thence, arrived in safety at Hobart Town. He writes from

Sydney, (New South Wales) 1834, 12th mo. 23rd.—"After dinner, we landed on an uninhabited part of the coast, on the north side of the harbour, to obtain sufficient exercise; and accidentally met with an aboriginal family, consisting of two females, (one of them far advanced in years,) and three children, the offspring of the younger woman. There were two men not far off, who belonged to them, but they kept aloof. These women appeared to be in a poor state of health, and exceedingly shrunk: they could talk a little English, and on our making them some trifling presents, and saying that some of us would see them again if they should be there to-morrow, one of them said, 'You welcome, come.' It was affecting to behold the degraded condition of these natives of the soil. The state of these poor creatures has been rendered abundantly more miserable and unhappy, since the English have taken possession of their country, from the introduction of vices to which they were before strangers; particularly the use of spirituous liquors."

12th mo. 24th.—"We sent some biscuit to the native family on the north side of the bay, by the mate and my son Charles, who saw two other families of these people in the course of their excursion. Their debased condition is greater than can well be conceived, and such as to render every attempt to assist them fruitless: if money is handed to them, it is immediately exchanged for rum;

or if clothes, they are forthwith sold or exchanged for whatever will procure strong drink; such is the curse entailed upon them since their acquaintance with the British, who are doubtless chargeable not only on this score, but for much of the demoralization and degradation of these harmless people. Fire-arms these poor creatures seem to care little about."

1835. 1st mo. 21st.—"I have found the advantage of placing our sailors of the 'Henry Freeling,' upon rather a different, and more respectable footing than those of other ships, and the result has been, so far, that we have had comparatively no trouble with them. 'It is so common a thing for the shipping to lose their men here, that a few days ago the question was put to me by General Bourke, the Governor, 'Have you lost any of your men?' and it is satisfactory to know that some of the strangers who have attended our [religious] meetings on board, have, in more than one instance, expressed, as if of rare occurrence, that our sailors look more like healthy, fresh-faced farmers, than men come off a long voyage; the generality of those we see daily have a thin and worn down appearance, particularly when they belong to ships that supply them daily with ardent spirits; while our sailors have each a quart of beer per day, of weak quality, being brewed, as is customary here, with only sugar and hops, both of which are very cheap."

On finally quitting the shore on the 12th of 2nd month for Tahiti, D. W. writes thus:

"The day we first landed in New South Wales we were saluted by a most appalling volley of dreadful oaths and imprecations, from some of the poor intoxicated creatures, in the garb of sailors, that were standing about the stairs; but now, on quitting its shores, I am thankful in believing that we have the prayers and good wishes of many, however weak and feeble those are who offer them."

The following extract from the Journal of James Backhouse, a minister of the Society of Friends, and a passenger on board the "Henry Freeling," between Sydney and Norfolk Island, exhibits the advantage of the prevalence of temperance amongst the seamen of that vessel.

"It is pleasing to see the seamen of the 'Henry Freeling' instructing one another in nautical observations and calculations: the carpenter is a good navigator, and since he became a steady man he has taken pleasure in instructing the other sailors, who appear to be improving in knowledge and conduct. They strongly exemplify the benefit of Temperance principles on board ship. They are allowed beer when it is to be had, and as much tea, coffee, or cocoa as they like. There is no swearing to be heard, and the men have the appearance of comfort, and spend their leisure in improving reading, &c."

Tahiti, (South Seas,) 1835. 5mo. 20th.—"The American ship, Emerald," D. W. observes, "being about to sail for Manilla and the Philippine Islands, and Captain Eagleston having kindly offered, on application being made, to forward our views in circulating the Scriptures in the Spanish language, he being on a trading voyage, and of extensive acquaintance, eighteen Bibles, eighteen Testaments, eighteen J. J. Gurney's Letter on Christianity, with five copies of a 'Practical View, &c.' by the late William Wilberforce, were got ready this morning and delivered to that ship. We have met with great civility and willingness to lend a helping hand in many of the American captains: at the same time we are frequently sensible of a mixture which cannot be reconciled. The foregoing remark has no allusion to the inconsistent conduct of the crews of many of the American vessels, which we have fallen in with here, that are called 'Temperance Ships.' I could not but view these with satisfaction, and with a degree of thankfulness, as likely to

contribute by their example to the welfare of the islanders. But, alas! I now find, with horror and surprise, that the word *temperance* applies only to the ships, and not to their crews, none probably of whom are members of a temperance society, but are merely bound by articles that the voyage shall be performed without any spirits being on board, except as medicine, if needed, and that their sobriety only exists because they cannot get the liquor; when on shore, and unbound by these articles, they are lamentably, in many instances, notorious for drinking to excess; and their immoral conduct, at this place, makes me shudder for the awful and woeful consequences, both as regards themselves, and the daughters of Tahiti. Although great exertion is made and promoted by the missionaries here to stop this overwhelming torrent of iniquity, yet all their measures are abortive, and can never be effective, unless co-operated with on the part of the masters of the shipping. Notwithstanding the disuse of spirituous liquors is rigidly enforced at Tahiti, and no person allowed to have it in their houses, or if the breath of any of the natives smell of it, a severe fine is imposed; yet this bane of the human race is still to be purchased on shore, and the supply is kept up by the American ships, clandestinely landed at times, amongst the supposed empty casks which are sent on shore for water, (an instance of this kind took place a few days ago,) and by other methods. A considerable quantity was brought in last week by an American schooner from Valparaiso, and safely landed; but has since been discovered, the casks destroyed, and their contents totally lost. By what is said, I do not mean to infer that this shocking and gross immorality is confined solely to the crews of the American vessels, because those of the English are equally implicated; but with this difference, they do not assume the character of being 'Temperance Ships.'

"How dreadful and appalling the consideration, that the intercourse of distant nations should have entailed upon these poor untutored islanders, a curse unprecedented and unheard of in the history of former times: that one fourth of the whole population is miserably affected with a disease brought amongst them, and kept up by the licentious crews of their shipping. Will not, shall not the Lord visit for these things?"

7th mo. 13th. "Employed on board most of the day. Omitted mentioning that last week a canoe from Tieraboo, and another from Tautira, reached the ship. In both these canoes were persons with whom we had social and religious intercourse at the places where they reside. Their coming afforded an opportunity to send clothing and slates for some of the most diligent children at the district-schools in those parts; and nails suitable for general purposes, to the different congregations. As the dear people composing them had abundantly more than ministered to my wants when amongst them, it is a relief to be enabled to return their kindness.

"There are so many aggravated circumstances which contribute to lessen the desire of the people for religion, that the present prospect of things here is truly discouraging; added to which, the landing of spirituous liquors is permitted or winked at, from the English traders to the colonies of New South Wales, and ships in the whaling employ, with those from America, which are much more numerous than those of the British. Hopeless, indeed, appears every attempt to Christianize the natives of those islands, who are labouring under and exposed to these disadvantages, which must ever obstruct the free course of the gospel."

Island of Eimeo, (South Seas,) 9th mo. 27th.—D. W., it appears, attended a large meeting in the native place

of worship in the morning, and addressed the congregation at considerable length; he felt his mind not clear without going in the afternoon, alluding to which, he writes:—"When Alexander Simpson one of the missionaries, came down from the pulpit, I went and stood by him, and shortly after he had prepared my way, by telling the people to be still, I said, 'Verily there is a reward for the righteous: verily He is a God that judgeth in the earth.—Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people.—The work of righteousness, shall be peace, and the effect of righteousness, quietness, and assurance for ever.' I was not aware that my voice would be any more heard among you, but my Lord and master hath put it into my heart to stand before you once again. As what I speak must be in faithfulness before my God, so I must be honest and deal plainly with you. I am come to warn you to flee from the wrath to come; and to show you a snare which the grand enemy, both to God and to man, that old serpent the devil has prepared for you; he has tried it before, and found it to answer. It is that of throwing strong drink, or spirituous liquors in your way. You have it in your power to resist the temptation, for no temptation will be permitted to assail us, but that a way is made for our escape. Then 'draw nigh to God, and he will draw nigh to you: resist the devil and he will flee from you.' The scene of riot and confusion has already begun upon the sister island, Tahiti, and its poison will soon reach to this island: therefore if you do not resist it, your destruction will be of yourselves. If those in authority do not know it, they ought to know it; and if the authorities do know it, and with those under them in power, are conniving at it, or winking at it, or deriving emolument from it, most assuredly the Lord will punish these: He will visit for these things. 'Shall I not visit

for these things, shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this?' was the language of the Lord through his faithful prophet, to a rebellious people formerly. Yea, He will sweep them from the face of the earth as with a besom of destruction. Nothing is so calculated to destroy the happiness of the people as this curse of the human race, and to aggravate that awful disease, which is now rapidly depopulating these islands. If you do not set shoulder to shoulder in resisting this evil, what will you do when the wrath of the Lord is appearing? 'He will laugh at your calamity and mock when your fear cometh;' and the denunciation of the prophet against a people that had revolted from, and forsaken the Lord their God, will be applicable to you: 'Hast thou not procured this unto thyself, in that thou hast forsaken the Lord thy God when he led thee by the way? And now what hast thou to do in the way of Egypt,' in following the fashions and follies and vanities of this world, and in drinking the dark and polluted 'waters of Sihor, &c.—Thine own wickedness shall correct thee—thy backslidings shall reprove thee: know, therefore, and see that it is an evil thing and bitter, that thou hast forsaken the Lord thy God, and that my fear is not in thee, saith the Lord of Hosts.' Come, then, my beloved people, in the fear and in the dread, and in the love of the Lord Jehovah I warn you, your only refuge is in Jesus: then turn inward, to his Holy Spirit in your hearts; submit yourselves to Him as little children, and He will leaven all in you into his own pure and heavenly nature, and prepare you for a kingdom 'consisting not in meats and drinks, but in righteousness and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost:' a kingdom into which it is declared nothing that is unclean or impure; nothing that worketh an abomination or that maketh a lie must ever enter: There the wicked cease from troubling; there the weary are at rest; there the morning stars sing together; there the sons of

God shout an endless anthem; there all is love, and joy and peace, and that for evermore. Several of the people went out when *strong drink* was mentioned; but the Queen and her party, with all the principal authorities and judges from Tahiti, as well as those of this island, were present, and remained to the last. Alexander Simpson told the people that they must not consider me their enemy, for it was in pure love that I had spoken to them; and after he had put up a prayer on the occasion, he dismissed the assembly. Only one man and one woman ventured to shake hands with me. I told A. S. that I had placed him in an awkward situation, but the truth must be spoken: it was not a time to withhold it. He expressed his satisfaction at what had been done, and said it was much better for it to come from a stranger. I certainly did not know that so many of the authorities were present from Tahiti, but I knew that Pomare V. was in the neighbourhood, and though in the meeting, I did not see her, nor know she was there. I was afterwards informed that Pavoy, one of the principal chiefs was desirous to have spoken to me in the meeting by way of reply, but was deterred through fear of giving offence. When the meeting broke up, he attempted to get to me, but could not succeed for the crowd of people. He told Alexander Simpson, my informant, that he wished to have said, in reply to my testimony borne in the meeting on behalf of the natives of these islands and himself after what I had declared to them relative to strong drink, '*he hoped I would go to Britannia, and beg the people to have mercy on them; and then go to America, and beg those people also to have mercy on them; because it was these countries that sent this poison amongst them.*' A fact not less true than lamentable."

HUAHINE, 11th mo. 27th.—"Engaged on board the

'Henry Freeling' until four P. M., many of the natives constantly with us, with several young women, and younger children of both sexes. They seem to enjoy themselves, and I like to see them so comfortable and unsuspecting, considering themselves quite safe on board. But I cannot help viewing their confidence with suspicion and fear, lest the treatment they meet with in our vessel should induce them to venture on board of others at a future day, in the same unconscious and protected manner. In the afternoon took exercise on shore, and ascended a considerable height upon one of the mountains: Charles Barff, (one of the missionaries) having joined us, we accompanied him home to tea. In the course of the time we were together at his house, the circumstance of the females coming so freely on board the 'Henry Freeling' was mentioned, and the fears that I entertained on their account; but he said, 'yours is called the 'Praying Ship,' which is the reason of their venturing on board as they do.' However pleasant and satisfactory it is to know the reason why our decks are so crowded with this description of female visitors; yet we find to our great regret, that the practice of others in going off to the shipping is carried on to greater extent than their missionary is aware of; although things in many respects are much better regulated at 'Huahine' than in other places which we have visited. But what can be expected, while these poor islanders are exposed to the temptations and diseases brought among them by the notorious crews of the shipping, whose vicious practices cannot fail to subvert and banish every virtuous feeling, whose example only teaches them to sin, as with a cart-rope, and who are like a swarm of destructive locusts, that eat up every green thing wherever they come."

Bolabola, (Society Isles,) 11th mo. 6th.—"It was ascer-

tained, after anchoring in the haven of Teavanui, that there is a pilot for the accommodation of such ships as may incline to enter; but as it seldom happens that this place is visited at the present day, owing to the principal chief and many of the people having relapsed into their former idolatrous practices, this man was engaged in fishing on the other side of the island when we arrived. The intoxicated state of the people has latterly deterred ships from calling here, not only from a fear of receiving damage, but on account of the few supplies to be obtained. Such vessels as do come are mostly American, and generally hove off and on at a distance, to dispose of rum, in exchange for what the islanders can furnish. There is, however, at present but little to be had, as the thoughtless part of the community (and these unhappily are in power) have converted even their bread-fruit into ardent spirit by distillation, and many families are now in an unclothed and famishing condition. Charles Barff has no doubt but they will be kindly disposed towards us, and I do not feel the least hesitation in going amongst them.

" We found here John Platt, one of the missionary family at Raiatea, who has brought over a small cargo of plantains, as food for the people. In the schooner with this young man, our kind friend and interpreter, Charles Barff, looks forward to return to his family at Huahine, after doing all he can for us: he is now on shore inviting the scattered people to the meeting to-morrow. There is a little remnant of serious natives yet remaining, who have hitherto stood firmly against the practices of those in authority, and several of them are nearly allied to the notorious chief or king, whose name is Mai, (to which the letter O is often prefixed.) This little band there will be no difficulty in convening. We could not have arrived here at a more favourable moment, as the stock of spirits is exhausted, and the growing crops are not yet ready for

the process of distillation. May the Lord work a
them, to the exaltation of his own great and a
name: may now be the accepted time: may now
day of salvation to these poor people, saith all
within me. In the afternoon landed with C. B.
exercise. Saw the relics of several Marais, where
sacrifices were formerly offered. Continued our
until a bay opened on the other side of the island.
by one of the dancing-houses, which has been esta
since the introduction of strong drink amongst the
message was despatched in the course of the day
head of the rebellious party, who has been their
into every mischief and distress that has overtaken
of late, to invite him and his company to attend the
ing to-morrow. These people have now taken up
tion in a distant valley, for the purpose of carry
their abominable practices more free from restrain
invitation was stated to be at the request of two
gers just arrived from the island of Raiatea. The
turned for answer, that they could not come to-m
but would certainly attend the following day. By
it was understood that they are in such a reduced
poverished, and suffering state, from their evil habit
ruinous practices, as to be for the most part wit
clothing, and their resources exhausted by purchasing
and other strong drink."

Oahu, (Sandwich Isles,) 1836, 1st mo. 13th.—"
forenoon, Kuakini, the governor of the island of Hav
came on board; he was proceeding homeward in
own schooner, but having to convey the Princess Ha
etta Náhienaéna, the king's sister, to the island of M.
was detained until her arrival on board his vessel, wh
was standing off and on while he paid us a visit dur
the interval, to invite us to the shores of Hawaii. We h

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...N DIRECTION OF THE YEARLY MEETING, 1838.

...cond Edition.

...LONDON:

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1843.

...the Aborigines, No. 3.]

dren. The account of our treatment at the fortress of *heathen Tonga* may seem to contradict the above favourable statement of these people, but it is at once accounted for, from the much greater intercourse with the shipping of different nations, to which these much-to-be-pitied poor creatures are exposed. Unhappily for them, their neighbourhood affords the only *safe* shelter for shipping; although the anchorage off Nukualofa, the missionary part of the island, is open to some winds, which now and then prevail; yet it is very seldom that an accident has happened, and I believe in no one instance where proper care has been exercised, and the ground-tackling of a vessel (what it ought to be) sufficient to hold her as long as she will hold together. But off this part of the island no sensual indulgences can be obtained, as the people are under proper restraint, and religious control; even allowing that they are not better in reality than their heathen neighbours, still this very circumstance alone is a great point gained. On this account the generality of ships anchor off the heathen settlements. Here they can dispose of their rum, muskets, and gunpowder, and here the mercenary chiefs make a trade of supplying them with any number of wretched females, for the sake of foreign articles of the before-mentioned and other kinds. One of these very chiefs, however inhuman and barbarous he may be, made a very affecting complaint to us, when with him, of his own accord, that his people were dying and wasting away about him from disease brought amongst them by the shipping. What a horrible fact! What a dreadful stain upon a people who call themselves Christians! The above, while it in a measure accounts for the different states of the people upon the same island, shows the salutary effect, however small, of the advance towards civilization."

Bay of Islands, (New Zealand,) 11th mo. 1836.—"Here the aborigines have suffered severely from the free introduction of both ardent spirits and fire-arms. Of the latter they possess great numbers, indeed the musket has now nearly superseded the less deadly native weapons; cannon too are found on some of the native fortifications. In the northern parts of New Zealand the population has fearfully decreased, owing in part to war, but principally to disease; which is in innumerable instances, no doubt, the consequence of unrestrained licentiousness and the use of spirits. The profligacy of the ships' companies who resort to the bays of New Zealand is almost beyond credit. Masters, officers, and seamen here, with few exceptions, indulge in the most shameless immoralities. Disease has penetrated far into the interior of the country, and by its ravages diminishes the already small number of inhabitants; and depraved habits, which are almost universal, tend the same way, by checking the natural increase of population. Multitudes of the most abandoned characters, who have either deserted from the ships, or have found their way over from the adjacent colonies, are scattered along the coast, and by their influence, of course assist in debasing the natives by whom they are surrounded. The ships have in some instances, we are told, taken part in the wars of the New Zealanders, whose mutual animosities are rendered more fatal than formerly by the added means of destruction which intercourse with *Christians* has conferred upon them. The childish, or rather, in many cases, base assumption, that the increased possession of the means of mutual injury, where the will exists, tends to diminish the results, scarcely needs a notice, though unfortunately such a doctrine is too often advocated."

Rorotogna, 8th mo. 9th.—"We left the rocky shore of

Rorotogna, about four o'clock in the afternoon of the 9th of 8th mo. made sail to the westward with a fresh trade-wind, and by midnight were more than fifty miles from this beautiful and flourishing spot of earth, which may be compared to an ant-hill, being somewhere about thirty-three miles in circumference, having seven thousand inhabitants, out of whom three thousand are called children, and at present the population is rapidly increasing. To account for the unparalleled prosperity of this island, it need only be said, 'there is no harbour for shipping here,' those circulating mediums of vice, disease, and wretchedness, the curse of the human race upon these fertile isles, wherever they go." After visiting various islands in the South Seas, D. W. returned to Sydney.

Sydney, 1837. 3rd mo. 18th.—"The most grievous thing we witnessed is the miserable condition of the aborigines of the country, who are frequently seen rolling about the streets in groups, altogether intoxicated, while their emaciated frames declare that they are fast wasting from the surface of the earth: they too are following the dreadful example set before them of cursing and swearing in the English tongue, which they have learnt from their extirminating visitors."

No circumstance attending Daniel Wheeler's interesting visit to the South Sea Islands appears to have more painfully affected his feelings, than the observation forced upon him from place to place, of the demoralizing and devastating effects of the intercourse of the natives with the crews of vessels visiting their shores. In some letters, not forming a part of his Journal, he thus alludes to the subject:

"We find that the voyages of the whaling-vessels are much longer than formerly, their success being more pre-

carious and uncertain, owing to the increased number of ships engaged in that employ, which constantly disturb a great breadth of ocean, by looking over several hundred square miles of its surface every day; so that the fish are becoming scarcer, and more shy than formerly. We should rejoice to hear of any cause that would reduce the number of shipping which visit these islands for supplies, and to refit; as they only tend to diminish their population, by bringing spirituous liquors amongst the people, and by keeping alive a disease, the ravages of which are destroying whole families, both old and young, to an extent little contemplated in England, and truly painful and distressing to be an eye-witness to, and which is greatly aggravated by the use of ardent spirits. Surely something will be done to stop this desolating scourge of the human race. It is the suffering case of an afflicted, injured people, and calls for the attention, and that speedily, of the legislature of every country, but particularly of England and America, which are the nations principally implicated in this dreadful traffic. Scarcely a ship arrives but what has for sale rum, muskets, and gunpowder, for all of which the natives are extremely eager: and many of these are denominated 'Temperance ships,' and yet are engaged in producing madness amongst the natives, by furnishing the means of intoxication, and then supplying them with weapons of destruction to complete their misery. We have seen much of this since our lot has been cast among them: and though the use of spirits is forbidden in some islands, and they are destroyed when found, yet there are too many who carry on the trade in an underhand manner; and of late there has been more and more of its effects to be seen. Those who have it in their power effectually to stop it are in their hearts desirous that it should be allowed, who not only like it themselves, but are

fully aware how profitable the sale is to those that deal in it.

"If my friends at home could witness for themselves the state of many of the islands in these seas, which we have visited, lamentation, and mourning, and woe, must inevitably be their portion. It is a fact, incontrovertible, that those called 'Temperance ships' have landed larger quantities of spirits on some islands than any other class of ships. On nearly every island the population decreases, and the dreadful ravage made by disease is much aggravated by the use of spirits."

After giving an affecting description of the consequence of disease, and that he had, in as many cases as his stock of medicine would allow, successfully checked and eradicated it, D. W. adds:

"The island of Bolabola is one that has suffered most of any by the introduction of spirits, as it has caused the people to distil their bread-fruit, and every kind of food capable of producing spirit. I can never forget the abject, wretched state of these people, with scarcely rags to cover them, in want of every thing, and nothing to purchase with; every thing consumed in buying or converting into spirits, and the famished appearance of the more than half-naked children, who abound, will long retain a place in my memory, in that love which must ever intercede on behalf, and plead the cause of suffering humanity. The little things used to come on board to us; and when on shore, we were surrounded in a few minutes by delighted groups of them. My heart often revisits Bolabola, and gladly would I bind up her wretched inhabitants in the Lord's bundle of life for ever."

In the perusal of the latter Extracts, as well as some of the preceding, it will with sorrow of heart be felt how ex-

ceedingly inconsistent and awfully demoralizing is the conduct of many of those who 'go down to the sea in ships, and do business in the great waters,' and what a weight of responsibility rests on the heads of those who, calling themselves Christians, and whilst in the pursuit of their lawful occupation, do thus lay temptation in the way of these poor simple people, and who are ultimately the occasion, in regard to many of them, of misery and death. May those, then, who are in any way concerned in trading to the South Seas do all in their power to put a stop to a traffic which entails so much wretchedness and evil upon the uninstructed inhabitants of these islands!

THE END.

Harvey and Darton, Printers, Gracechurch-street.

FURTHER INFORMATION

RESPECTING

THE ABORIGINES,

CONTAINING

EXTRACTS FROM THE PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MEETING FOR SUFFERINGS IN LONDON,

AND OF THE

COMMITTEES ON INDIAN AFFAIRS,

OF THE

YEARLY MEETINGS OF PHILADELPHIA AND BALTIMORE,

TOGETHER WITH SOME PARTICULARS RELATIVE TO THE SEMINOLE WAR.

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[Tracts relative to the Aborigines, No. 3.]

Since the publication of the pamphlet on the Aborigines, issued by the Meeting for Sufferings, at the commencement of the present year, some fresh steps have been taken in reference to this deeply interesting subject, and important information has also been received, more particularly relating to the North American Indians. A brief report, or narrative of proceedings, was presented by the Meeting for Sufferings to the Yearly Meeting, and that Meeting directed that the statements therein contained should be published, together with such additional matter connected therewith as might appear suitable for general circulation. The following pages have been prepared in pursuance of that direction, and they are now commended to the attentive perusal of Friends generally, and more especially of those who may have any opportunity of assisting to redress the wrongs, or promote the welfare of the oppressed.

THE YEARLY MEETING having in 1837 referred the circumstances of the Aborigines of the BRITISH COLONIAL POSSESSIONS and particularly of the Indians in Upper Canada, to the close attention of the MEETING FOR SUFFERINGS, a large Committee was forthwith appointed for the purpose, and the subject has from time to time obtained the consideration of that meeting.

The following is an extract from their report to the Yearly Meeting in 1838, chiefly relating to

THE CANADIAN INDIANS.

"WHILST we have to regret that so little has been done in proportion to the magnitude and importance of the concern, it seems proper to state *that little* for the information of the Society, in the hope that it may contribute to promote the interest and co-operation of Friends generally.

The Committee of the House of Commons having presented a Report on the general subject of the Aborigines in the British Colonies, a copious abstract of that Report, with some additional information and notes, was prepared by the Committee of this meeting and printed as a small pamphlet for general circulation throughout the Society.

The facts which are detailed in that Report, and fully substantiated by it, show the great importance of the subject, and the need of prompt and energetic measures being adopted if the Aborigines are to be preserved from utter annihilation.

With reference to the case of the North American Indians in particular, two members of this Meeting waited by apointment on Lord Glenelg, the Colonial Secretary. He received them very courteously, and entered at considerable length into the subject A letter was also addressed, in the course of last year, by a member of this meeting to a Friend of New York Yearly Meeting, and the names of Friends in Upper Canada suitable to correspond with on the subject have been supplied.

In the mean time the accounts received through other channels, respecting the state of the tribes on the United States' frontier, and within the province of Canada, fully confirm the apprehensions that the policy both of the British local government, and also of the United States, has been perseveringly directed to promote the removal of the Indians from their present locations. This information at the same time proves the increase of civilization and settled habits among some of the tribes, and their consequent increased reluctance to abandon their settlements, and again seek in the desert a support wholly derived from the chase."

The appointment of the Earl of Durham on a special mission to the North American Colonies of Great Britain, appearing to present a very favourable opportunity for endeavouring to advocate the

rights of our red fellow-subjects, and for urging the abandonment of the proposed measure of removing them further to the north-west, this meeting thought it right to address the following memorial to him on the subject.

To the EARL *of* DURHAM, *Governor-General of the British Colonial possessions in North America, the Memorial of a Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends representing that body in Great Britain.*

AMONGST the numerous objects of great and pressing importance which are likely to occupy thy attention as Governor-General, in the performance of the special mission to which thou hast been appointed at this eventful juncture, the state of the Indians within the limits of the British territories, is one which, from motives of general humanity, and also from a regard to the character of our country for uprightness of dealing and compassion towards the oppressed, has, we would submit, a strong claim on thy serious consideration.

It may hardly be needful, as a plea for our thus coming forward to call thy attention to this interesting subject, to mention, that the Society of Friends, ever since their first settlement in America, have felt a lively interest in the civil, moral, and religious welfare of the Indians. The conduct of William Penn, in founding the province of Pennsylvania, and his care for the rights and interests of the Indians with whom he had intercourse, are early and well-known illustrations of this fact. The members of this Society in England have co-operated with their brethren in America, in endeavouring to protect and to promote the civilization of those Indians who are more immediately brought into contact with our fellow-members in the United States. They are not, however, unmindful of those tribes who reside in the British North American possessions. Their attention has of late been more particularly arrested to this latter class by the measures which have been adopted with regard to them, and especially by the attempt to dispossess them by treaty of their most valuable reservations in Upper Canada, and to settle them upon the rocky islands of Lake Huron, the soil and situation of which, it is apprehended, will render it impracticable for them to raise by cultivation an adequate supply of provisions for the wants of life. The last annual meeting of the Society of Friends of Great Britain have directed us, as its standing Committee, to keep the subject under our careful attention. We feel that although we have communicated with Lord Glenelg on the subject, we should not be discharging the duty entrusted to us, were we to allow the important and favourable opportunity now presented, by thy special mission to the Canadian provinces, to pass without also addressing thee on their behalf.

We will not attempt a repetition of the many strong facts of an oppressive and injurious character which have come to our knowledge from public and private sources, and which we believe to have been already laid before thee, but we would express our earnest desire that thou wilt be pleased to employ the extensive powers with which thou hast been entrusted, in securing to the original possessors of the soil of Canada, those rights which belong to them, not only as members of the great human family, but in virtue of their just and ancient title, and which Britons as Christians are bound to acknowledge and respect. In particular, we would most urgently but respectfully solicit, that the measures to which we have alluded, and which have for their object the virtual expulsion of

the Indians from their reservations, may be forthwith abandoned, and the steps which have as yet been taken in reference to them retraced.

However attractive the prize which these valuable lands may present to the cupidity of white adventurers, and whatever may have been the apparent regularity of the treaties, in which an advantage has manifestly been taken of the too confiding disposition of the Indians, we trust that a regard for the national character, and above all for the dictates of Christian morality, as regulating the conduct of civilized towards uncivilized man, will lead not only to the permanent confirmation of the title of the Indians to these valuable tracts of land, but also to the enactment of laws which shall effectually prevent their alienation under any pretext.

As an essential accompaniment of these measures, and without which their benefits cannot be fully obtained, we would claim on behalf of the Indians an immediate and entire participation in the rights of British subjects, and in all the privileges and protection of which that term can be understood to imply the possession.

We apprehend that the Indians have suffered great disadvantages, and that their improvement has been much retarded by their existing as a separate nation in the midst of a civilized community, subject to a regular government, and we are persuaded that if they could, by the opportunity afforded them of possessing all the advantages of British citizens, be induced to amalgamate with the subjects of the Canadian government, and to form a part of the colony, their protection and improvement, as well as the comfort and welfare of their white neighbours would be materially promoted.

And we would suggest, whether thy powerful influence and mediation might not be advantageously employed in inducing them, by kind and Christian persuasion, to lay aside some of their national prejudices, and to co-operate in measures for the attainment of the object to which we have adverted.

As the possession of civil rights must however be comparatively a dead letter, when the parties possessing them are imperfectly informed of their value, it is greatly to be desired that thou wouldst exercise the influence of thy authority and example, to promote the more active and extended operation of those measures which have hitherto proved the most successful in introducing Christianity and civilization amongst the Indians.

The principles of the Society of Friends with respect to the anti-christian character of war, have been often brought before the attention of their countrymen, but we feel that on the present occasion we should be leaving an important duty unperformed, if we did not (besides expressing our fervent desire that thy labours may effectually conduce to the permanent establishment of peace in the Canadas) offer also a special remonstrance against the employment of the Indians in military service, by which they are likely to aggravate the horrors inseparable from all war, and greatly to retard their own emancipation from the savage state.

In conclusion, we wish to express our sincere desire that thou mayst, through Divine favour, witness preservation by sea and land, and that in fulfilling thy important trust, it may be thy chief concern to act in the fear of God, and that his blessing may rest upon thy labours.

Signed, in and on behalf of the meeting aforesaid, held this 24th day of the 3rd Month, 1838.

GEORGE STACEY, Clerk.

The reluctance of the Canadian Indians to remove from their re-

servations is shown by the following extract from a letter addressed to a friend in this country, by Francis Hesh-ton-a-quet, an Indian chief residing near the Lake St. Clair, who was not long since ensnared into a visit to this country, where himself and his companions were subjected to much suffering: three of the party died, but the chief and his two surviving companions were enabled to return, by the assistance of our Government, in conjunction with a subscription raised in their favour, to which many Friends contributed.

The latter part of the letter is particularly interesting, as bearing on the state of those Indians who are removed by the government of the United States to the west of the Mississippi.

Lake St. Clair, Oct. 10, 1837.

My Dear Friend,

* * We were very happy in the reception of your words, and it cheered our drooping spirits when we remembered that our father thought of us still. We still keep hold of your words, and request that you will still continue to show us favour and kindness. We request that you will never be weary in doing us good. My father, while I was absent from home, my people did not follow wisdom; but since my return we are endeavouring to conform ourselves to its dictates. And now our main dependence is upon yourself; there is not another to whom we look with the same confidence of receiving assistance. Would you not be rejoiced to see your children observing the dictates of wisdom? I listen not to those who say everything; but their words pass through my ears without remaining, like a ball passing through anything; but your words enter my ears and remain there for my consideration. I now feel that I am brought out of darkness and have light all around. We are very happy in the reception of your words, and wish to listen to what you say, and remain in our place; but what would become of us should we listen to your young men, for they make us afraid? We fear they will remove us from our reservations: you told us to hold fast our land, and we wish to do so. You have the key of the door, and we wish you to tell us what we must do. Sometimes, you know, when children are small, it requires much patience and perseverance; although they hear you, they cannot always perform what is required, and we wish you to deal with us as children. We feel much troubled since learning that the land at River Credid, St. Clair, and other places, is to be taken from us; we were told that we have no title to the land. We must be very miserable if removed from our pleasant places of abode. There are no other places so suitable for us as these we at present occupy, where we have such facilities for raising cattle, planting, &c.

We feel hurt at the removal of our council-fire, which it was covenanted should remain at Malden, where we were always to receive the bounty of our great father, (the King of England.) Sometimes we receive our presents in one place, and sometimes in another; the council-fire is now at the Marrisoolen Island; we would be much rejoiced could the fire be always in some central place, for us who live in the vicinity of St. Clair. * * *

I send you this letter now I am just returned from a visit to the regions beyond the Mississippi, where the Indians are sent to that go from the settled parts of the country. I explored the region between the settled

parts of the United States and the Spanish possessions south of the Missouri River. Although among my own nation, I did not feel so much at home as when with you. The Indians are extremely poor. * * *

I am, dear Sir, your friend,
FRANCIS HESH-TON-A-QUET.

The friends who have had the subject of the Canadian Indians under their special attention, have been strongly impressed with the belief, that Lord Glenelg not only patiently listened to the remonstrances of our Society and of the Wesleyan Missionaries, on behalf of the Indians, but that he has really participated in their interest in the subject. Although the treaty made by Sir Francis Head has not been annulled, some settlements of converted Indians are likely to have land secured to them, as will be seen by the following extract from the Christian Guardian, a Canadian journal under the management of the Wesleyans.

Toronto, Upper Canada, Aug. 1, 1838.

It will afford great satisfaction to the friends of missions, and especially to those who take a deep interest in the progress of scriptural Christianity amongst the red men of the west, to learn that a dispatch has been addressed by Lord Glenelg to the present excellent Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, on the subject of Indian title-deeds, which will secure to the evangelized Indians and their posterity the possession in perpetuity of the lands on which they are located, and which they have to some extent improved and cultivated. The settlement of this question is of incalculable advantage to the Indians, and the announcement of it to them will contribute to bind them still more closely to the mother country, an object of great national importance in the present critical state of the Canadas. It is a remarkable fact, and one which must greatly contribute to encourage the friends of missions to persevere in their efforts to diffuse the knowledge and influence of the gospel amongst the Aborigines of America, that while during the four years that immediately preceded the establishment of the Wesleyan mission at the river St. Clair, the annual average number of deaths was forty-seven, and only twelve of those from natural causes, the rest having been chiefly occasioned by drunken quarrels, and accidents originating in intemperance. The average annual number of deaths during the four years that have elapsed since their conversion to Christianity has been *three* from natural causes, and from other causes *not one*.

In other numbers of the same journal it is stated, that both Lord Durham and Governor Arthur have received deputations from some of the Indian settlements in a very friendly and favourable manner, and that the Indians are pleasing themselves with the idea that the maternal kindness of the Queen's Government will produce a happy change in their affairs. It is related of a body of Indians, who embraced Christianity only about four years ago, that they have well cleared many acres of wooded land, which they have enclosed and brought into cultivation, and that they have become temperate and orderly in their conduct.

The Indian youths who have been admitted into the Upper Canada

Academy, have made very satisfactory progress, and two of them obtained some of the first prizes at the annual examination.

Nevertheless, it is evident that much remains to be done: the interests and even the existence of those Indians who have not yet embraced Christianity, or quitted their erratic habits, demand immediate and constant attention, in order to counteract the baneful influences of loss of territory and diminished means of subsistence, of the introduction of spirits, arms and ammunition, of the contamination of profligate example, and of the gradual, but certainly destructive process of the fur-trade as at present carried on.

There is one very serious evil, the remedy for which is altogether in the power of the Government, and might be immediately applied, namely, the mode of distributing annuities and presents, granted by the British Government. This grievance, which took its origin in Sir F. Head's policy, has already been alluded to in the extract from Hesh-ton-a-quet's letter: its operation will be seen from the following paragraph taken from the Christian Guardian.

A letter from a Wesleyan missionary, dated Munnedoolin Island, July, 1838, contains the following remarks. We found brother Herchman and his family in good health, but nearly alone, the Indians having gone to the Munnedoolin Island. These people deserve great credit for their industry: their corn and potatoe-fields present a beautiful appearance; they are, generally speaking, well hoed; indeed, I do not remember to have seen finer crops; and they have evidently got them in, notwithstanding their northerly location, early in the season. It is to be hoped that this people, with their brethren elsewhere, will receive some security as to their right of possessing and occupying these lands. The land is excellent, the flats particularly so. The Indians were nearly all absent, having gone to the Munnedoolin Island:—this month or five weeks' absence, annually, in the height of summer, when their corn and potatoes most need their attention, is of more injury to them seven-fold than the goods which they receive are beneficial.

I cannot but indulge a hope that his Excellency, Sir George Arthur, who evidently has the good of the Indians at heart, will endeavour, in carrying out the gracious desire of her Majesty's Government, to quiet the minds of the Indians, will do something for this people, alike with their brethren, in securing to them a permanent home. Who, I ask, has a greater claim? They have not, like other tribes, sold their possession for a stipulated sum annually, but have, however unwillingly, surrendered all the land that is worth possessing, trusting implicitly to the liberality of the British Government.

Should the compulsive surrender made to Sir F. B. Head be considered valid at home, which I can scarcely conceive possible, after the gracious professions of Lord Glenelg's despatches, and, especially, the late despatch to his Excellency, Sir George Arthur, the Lieutenant-Governor, this people are undone: but it cannot be; the honour and dignified character of the British empire will never be tarnished by approving of any dishonourable transaction, even for a continent, much less for a few thousand acres of wild land in America, which is dear to the Indians, as the graves of their fathers, and valuable, as the source of subsistence for their families.

OF THE INDIANS SITUATED IN, OR BORDERING UPON THE UNITED STATES.

It is stated, in documents presented some time since to the American Congress, that there are thirty different tribes residing west of the Mississippi, and connected by treaty with the United States; their number is estimated at 156,307. Thirty-nine tribes are mentioned with whom the States have made no treaties: the number of these Indians is stated at 156,300. At the time that these estimates were made, it was reckoned that 47,000 Indians remained to be removed from the States to the west; making an aggregate Indian population of about 350,000. In 1834 the number of Indians remaining in the United States, and who had not consented to emigrate was estimated at 30,000.

At a recent period, the number of the Shawnese tribe was estimated at 1,250. About one half of this tribe has at different periods been under the particular care of Friends.

From these data which the Committee has derived from papers furnished by the correspondence of some of the American Yearly Meetings, it appears that the Indians under the care of Friends, viz. the proportion of the Shawnese, under the care of Baltimore, Ohio, and Indiana Yearly Meetings, and some of the remnants of the Six Nations under the notice of the Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting, constitute a very inconsiderable portion of the United States Indians.

They have, however, for many years formed the subject of correspondence between the Yearly Meeting of Friends in England and of America. At intervals a lively interest has been excited in their behalf, and subscriptions have been raised, in aid of the fund devoted to their service.

The following extracts from the latest communications of the American correspondence in relation to these tribes, may therefore properly commence the chapter relating to the United States Indians.

The following is reprinted from the report of the "Committee for the Civilization of the Indians," published by direction of the Yearly Meeting held in Philadelphia in the 4th Month, 1838.

TO THE YEARLY MEETING.

The committee charged with the gradual civilization and improvement of the Indian Natives

Report,—

That the Friends who went, in the fall of 1836, to reside on the farm at Tunessassah, still continue there, and have received during the past year efficient aid from our friend Robert Scotten, who spent several months at the reservation. Under their superintendence the grist and saw mills have

undergone a complete repair. We have also through their means received more frequent information respecting the condition of the Indians residing in the vicinity of that place, than we have been accustomed for some years before to obtain.

In our report last year we informed the Yearly Meeting that, owing to the failure of the crops, six hundred dollars had been expended by direction of the committee, in the purchase of corn and potatoes, for the relief of such of the natives as had not otherwise the means of support. Soon after that meeting a communication was received from four of the chiefs on the Allegheny reservation, from which the following is an extract, viz.

"We, the chiefs of the Allegheny reservation, to our brothers the Quakers in Philadelphia—Robert Scotten, now residing here, has bought and faithfully divided amongst us, provision for us and our children, which has been a great help to us; for which we are very thankful, believing the Great Spirit has sent our brothers to help us. Now we will speak on the subject of schools. One school has been opened at Cornplanter's settlement, which has been attended by from twenty-five to thirty children. We are very desirous that our children should go to school and get learning; but the teacher is unsteady. We, the chiefs, are encouraged to have our children schooled, and intend to build a school-house next summer, near Cold Spring.

"Brothers, excuse us for getting along so slow; we have not strength to get along as fast as we ought; having lost our provision, many of our people have been from home all winter, hunting to get provision. We hope you will not give up your kindness to us."

A letter from the Friends at Tunessassah, dated 8th mo. 21st, 1837, has the following paragraph.

"The improvement of the natives in agriculture does not bear a very favourable appearance at present, as many of them have been reduced to poverty by the loss of their crops, and have sold their oxen and horses to procure bread, and let their land out to white people to farm. Such Indians as had oxen or horses to work, put in their spring crops tolerably well; their corn-crops are mostly pretty well grown, but the spring being cold and backward, we are fearful that frost will come before it ripens. Their crops of spring wheat, oats, buckwheat and potatoes look well. The natives have not often sat with us in a meeting capacity, but we have had frequent opportunities with them on religious subjects to good satisfaction. They stand open to hear us on those subjects, and have feelingly approbated what has been offered."

By another letter, dated 12th mo. 20th, we are informed, that "the school at Old Town, taught by Peter Crous, (a half-breed Indian) has been in operation about four weeks; it is small, not exceeding ten scholars at any time; probably the number may be considerably increased soon." "The prospect of a school at Cornplanter's settlement is at present nowise flattering, although most of the natives of that place appear to be desirous for it."—"In attending to the subject recommended by our friends Enoch Lewis and Joseph Elkinton, of ascertaining the number of sheep that the natives wish to purchase, most of those who are circumstanced so as to keep them, appeared disposed to get them as soon as they are in circumstances to pay for them. Several declined subscribing for them for want of funds. Eighteen individuals subscribed for ninety-nine sheep, which will be procured as soon as the funds are furnished to pay for them. From what I have been able to discover in going about among the natives, I believe most of them have grain enough to carry them pretty comfortably through the winter. There are a few who are entirely destitute, and some others

nearly so; but with reasonable exertion on their part, they may procure a comfortable subsistence for their families."

This anticipation was not fully realized, and it being apprehended that some families would suffer for want of an adequate supply of food, unless some aid was rendered them, the Friend residing on the reservation was authorized to expend three hundred dollars in the purchase of corn, for distribution among such of the natives as were in want. A letter received from him, dated 3rd mo. 28th last, says, "I purchased two hundred and ninety-six bushels of corn, and have handed out to the natives about one hundred bushels, and nearly the same amount of potatoes, which have been thankfully received by them. I think there has not been much more suffering among them during the past winter, for want of provisions, than is ordinary. A large number of them have been engaged in cutting and hauling logs to the bank of the river, which furnished them with the means to procure a subsistence for themselves; and the few who had plenty of their own raising, assisted those who were unable to provide for themselves. But the present would probably have been a time of suffering with a considerable number, had there not been a supply at hand. Provisions have been unusually scarce and dear since the sleighing failed; corn-meal has been sold at Cold Spring at four and a half cents per pound."

"The school at Old Town will close the present week, having been continued one quarter and a half. The teacher attended strictly to the school. I think fifteen or sixteen was the largest number of scholars that I saw in attendance at any one time. The scholars made considerable progress in learning; two studied arithmetic; four were learning to write, and six read in the Testament."

In the 9th mo. last, the following communication from three of the chiefs of the Allegheny was received, viz.

"Brothers, the Quakers of Philadelphia. We the chiefs of the Allegheny reservation, believe you to be our best friends, and want you to know how much trouble we have about our land. Schermerhorn came to Buffalo not long since, and left money with our agent to hire Indians to sign their names in favour of selling their land. The agent sent out-runners to the several reservations in the state for that purpose, and procured sixty signers. Samuel Gordon came to Allegheny and offered Blacksnake one thousand dollars for his name, which he refused, as he preferred keeping the land for his children. There are but two chiefs and two others, on the Allegheny in favour of selling. Our agent also selected nine chiefs to send as delegates to the west, to see the land where they intend Indians to move to, which made us very uneasy, and we met together in council at Cold Spring, and got a petition drawn and signed by ninety-two Indians in favour of keeping our land, to send to Washington; and the Indians on the other reservations are doing the same. Our agent is holding back our annuity until the chiefs' return from the west, which will be nearly three months hence.

"We are determined not to sell our land, but to stay on it. We have good crops of corn and potatoes growing, and hope we will be strengthened to go forward and improve. We would be glad to have an answer and know your opinion on the subject of selling our land."

Knowing the anxiety of some of the white people to procure the removal of the Indians from all their lands in New York, and fearing that the efforts so strenuously made to obtain a cession of their present reservations, might result in some procedure seriously injurious to the Indians, we concluded that a visit by a part of our number would be advisable,

before we attempted to communicate any particular advice in regard to their present condition, or future decisions. In pursuance of this conclusion, two members of the committee left Philadelphia on the 30th of the 10th, and arrived at Tunessassah on the 8th of the following month.

During the time they remained among the Indians, they took the opportunity of visiting as many of their habitations, and conversing with such of the most intelligent people, as they conveniently could. They found some of the farms in the neighbourhood of Old Town in pretty good condition, but others exhibited evidence of neglect. This is no doubt owing in part to those habits of indolence which always prevail among people who are but partially civilized, and in part, to the increasing efforts which are used to procure their removal.

The land moreover is not held in severalty, and those who occupy and improve any particular part, do not thereby acquire a permanent right to the soil; they hold by possession only, and are liable to be dispossessed in case the chiefs should form a treaty of cession. Hence they have less encouragement to make permanent improvements, than they would have if their titles were such as are usual with us. It was observable that the Indians were kept in a very unsettled condition by the attempts which were made to prevail on their chiefs, by the offers of bribes, to agree to a sale of the reservation, and the fact of bribes being offered for this purpose was confirmed from several quarters. All with whom the Friends conversed on the subject, were exceedingly anxious to remain where they were; several of them showing by tears as well as words, the keenness of their sensibility to the dangers and sufferings that await them, in case they should be deprived of their present possessions.

In a council held at Cold Spring a few days after their arrival, the chiefs gave our friends a detail of the proceedings which took place some time before, at Buffalo. They met there in consequence of the exertions of Schermerhorn, to procure their removal from the state. The delegation which he had taken to the west were not sent by the nation, they disapproving of the measure; and it was agreed at the council to pay no attention to the report of those who went, in case they should be in favour of a removal; that they would not sell the land, but would adhere to their old treaty, by virtue of which, they were to retain their present possessions and remain at peace with the people of the United States, as long as the sun rose and the waters flowed.

The chiefs had just come to this conclusion when an agent returned there from Washington, professing to have a message to them from the president and secretary of war.

The purport of this was to communicate to them certain offers which they deemed liberal, made to them by the government, on condition of their agreeing to remove to the west. After deliberating on these proposals the chiefs agreed to reject them; and the following remonstrance, addressed to the president of the United States, was agreed upon, and signed by seventy chiefs and attested by six respectable white men.

"To the President of the United States.

"We, the undersigned sachems, chiefs, and chief warriors of the Six Nations, assembled in council at the council-house at Buffalo Creek Reservation, in the State of New York, present the following communication for the purpose of saying to our father the president—that J. F. Scher-

merhorn, United States Commissioner, having been appointed to remove the New York Indians to the west, in July last he passed through all the settlements of the Six Nations, and took with him some of our men, of his own selection, for the purpose of forming an exploring party to the west. This was his own delegation and not ours. We consider this an unlawful and improper exercise of authority, which strikes at the very fundamental principles of our laws and treaties: we cannot therefore recognise persons so selected as regular appointed delegates.

"Father. We will explain to you our minds on the subject. We have not any desire of again exploring the western country. The repetition can confer on us no benefit, inasmuch as we have still the same determination to remain upon the premises which we now hold in the state of New York. Father—we have concluded a 'Treaty of Peace' more than forty years ago, which we still adhere to for our guide. In that treaty we have mutually stipulated that all our national transactions should be performed in open council. This stipulation was agreed to by the parties mutually. In that treaty all secret meetings to transact national business are forbidden.

"Father. In that treaty we agreed that no compulsion should be used by either of the parties, but now J. F. Schermerhorn has already used, as it were, force, in taking our men to the west clandestinely. Furthermore, we believe that communications have been dispatched to you, purporting to be the voice of the Six Nations; but which in reality have not been acted upon in our councils.

"Father. We sincerely hope that all such (if any there be) may not be considered or treated as the sentiments of the Six Nations.

"We will now acquaint you with our views respecting the removal of our people west of the Mississippi. We have resolved to adhere to our present locations; to remain and lay our bones by the side of our forefathers. We believe we can continue at home and be at peace with our neighbours. We have disposed of our lands again and again, until our seats are reduced, so that they are now but just sufficient for our children to live on. We are now surrounded on every side by the white people. We love them, and suffer no inconvenience from them; but on the contrary, we derive from them great and permanent assistance. They are kind and generous-hearted people. They treat us kindly. We believe that we have fulfilled our obligations to each other, and to the treaty of peace and friendship which we made. We have been born and educated in the same land; we have grown up together in brotherly love; we have acquired knowledge of the arts of civilization and of agriculture in a great measure from them. We have now many amongst us who have built large barns and have good waggons and other useful implements of agriculture; we have also built school and council-houses and convenient churches; we have several saw-mills and a grain-mill amongst us. Our people have made rapid advances already, and are still progressing in wealth and industry; the moral condition of our people has been visibly improving beyond our expectation for the last forty years. True, we have also immoral and unprincipled men amongst us, but this is common with all nations; there is therefore no sufficient reason for the whole nation to be removed on their account.

"Father, once more. We have heard your liberal offers in connexion with your instructions to your agent read to us by Judge Stryker. We have understood them well; but with all the light thus thrown upon the subject we cannot see sufficient reasons for accepting them. We believe that our comforts here are better than the western territory. We know

that from the sincerity of their hearts our people do not wish to accept, and it would be heart-rending for us and our people to be induced to do so, contrary to our views and feelings. Father, we have been repeatedly assured by all the presidents, and even by your predecessor, that the right of choice should be left entirely free; that we may go or stay as we choose.

"We believe our new father will follow the steps of the wise and good presidents who have gone before. We suppose that the people have elected a good and philanthropic man for their chief magistrate. We therefore hope sincerely, that you will suffer no improper means to be used for seducing our people to acquiesce in the proposition made by our agent. Father, permit us now, in closing this letter, to commend your health and soundness of spirit to the care of the Great Spirit of heaven.

"Done in general council of the Six Nations, on Buffalo Creek Reservation, this 2nd day of October, 1837."

In closing the report of their visit the sub-committee express themselves in the following terms, viz. "From what we have seen and heard during this visit, we are decidedly of the sentiment that the preservation of these people from total extinction depends on their retaining possession of the land they now have. The offers which are said to be made to them in the west, however flattering in appearance, present to our minds a very dreary prospect. They are probably less fitted for removal to the wilds of the west than they were when Friends commenced their labours amongst them. They have acquired too many of the wants and too few of the habits of civilized life to be removed, without the most disastrous consequences, to an uncultivated wilderness. It appears to us, that our duty is a plain one; that we ought to exercise such influence as we possess to induce them to hold fast their present possessions; to improve themselves and their land as rapidly as possible, and to become not only a civilized but a Christian community. If they should be induced to accede to the flattering offers, which are so industriously presented to their view, a few more fleeting years will probably join their name and memory with those which are no longer known, except on the historian's page."

In a communication subsequently addressed by this committee to the Indians, we endeavoured to impress them with the importance of making greater efforts to improve their lands, and to acquire school-learning for their children; holding up to their view as intimately connected with their future welfare and prosperity, the division and tenure of their lands in severalty; and a total abstinence from the use of ardent spirits.

Notwithstanding the voice of the nation had been so repeatedly and decidedly expressed, adverse to the cession and sale of the reservations, yet in the early part of the present year another commissioner came among them, empowered by the Government to negociate a treaty for those objects. A council was called at Buffalo, and through the artifices and bribery of persons interested in obtaining a sale of their lands, a pretended treaty was unjustly forced upon them; and though agreed to by only a small minority of the chiefs, while the remonstrance against it was signed by a much larger number, the commissioner persisted in considering it as a valid contract. In the 2nd month, the committee received the following communication from the Indians relative to this affecting subject, signed by fifteen chiefs and others:—

Cold Spring, 2nd month 18th, 1838.

"To our old Friends, the Quakers of Philadelphia.

"Brothers: our brother, the Quaker who resides here with us, was here to-day at our council in our council-house. Brothers, we consider it our duty to let you know what passed at the general council at Buffalo. We all met, Senecas, Onondagos, Cayugas, Tuscaroras, Oneidas, and all the rest of the New York Indians. Schermerhorn* called on some of the Indians from Green Bay to attend the council, who were also there. The United States' commissioner proceeded and opened the council with these words; 'I now open the council of the Six Nations. I am commissioner of the United States. I shall do the duty assigned me by the president. I was sent to let you know what the government wishes. It is the policy of the government that all the Indians shall remove beyond the Mississippi. Every chief that will control one hundred souls to remove, shall receive five hundred dollars. He stated that government was very kind to Indians, it would furnish one year's provision, money to defray the expenses of moving them there, build them houses, mills, meeting-houses, school-houses, blacksmith-shops, and furnish them with missionaries. When you receive this offer, all your annuity will be removed to the far country; if any Indians remain here they will get no money, as there will be no agent here, but there will be one sent to the west, who will attend all your councils there. You must accept of this offer—you must go.'

"He occupied the whole time in talking for the first eight days of the council. After we had deliberated on what he had said to us, and determined on remaining where we are, the commissioner said:—

"'We have finished. You have sold all you have claimed: here is the treaty made and written before you; and all you have to do is to sign it.'

"He then laid the treaty on the table: at the same time, our petition being written, we laid that on the table also. The commissioner called on us to sign his paper; the emigration party, to the number of twenty-three, came forward and signed it. The commissioner stating it was lawful to sign in the presence of the council, our petition was signed by sixty-two at the same time. At that time there was a large majority of the chiefs, and nearly all the warriors on our side. The commissioner then said, 'I now close the council, but my books shall be open all night, and until after breakfast to-morrow morning; then I will leave the reservation.'

"At the time he dismissed the council he removed the books to a public-house in the vicinity, and some of our people who had received large sums of money of the Ogden company, used great exertions to get many of the chiefs to go to this place, and prevailed on some with money, and others under the influence of ardent spirits, were prevailed on to sign the pretended treaty. They offered large sums of money to many of the chiefs, who refused it, and remained uncorrupted by the offer of their bribes.

"We told those who had signed the treaty that the council is now closed, and you think you have sold our land, but we are determined to hold our

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* Schermerhorn, who has assumed the character of a Christian minister, has likewise acted as Government agent to the Cherokee Indians, with whom he pretended to form a treaty similar in its character to that here described.

rights. You may sell your proportion according to your numbers, but we shall none of our land. But the commissioner did not go as he said, he staid two days after the council was closed, and his books were open all that time; and the Ogden company used all their influence to weaken our party by offering large sums of money to induce them to sign the treaty. On the third day in the afternoon, the commissioner left the reservation and went to Buffalo, and held a select council with those Indians who had signed the treaty.

"The Ogden company, knowing our agent had withheld our annuity from us, and that we intended to send a delegation to Washington, and supposing we should be necessitated to hire money to defray the expenses of our delegates, went forward to all those they thought would be likely to accommodate us, and by their influence prevented our getting any for that purpose.

"Brothers, Our hearts are pained, therefore we remember you, and aim to let you know our distress. Our necessity induces us to ask assistance of our friends. We have prevailed on James Robinson to go to Washington for us. He will stop and see you on his journey, in order to be advised by you who to apply to at Washington for assistance; and we think it is not likely we shall be able to raise money enough to defray his expenses while there, and would ask you to lend him as much as he may need. Our agent says we shall have our annuity in the 6th month; when we get that we will pay you, and will pay you what you think right for the use of it. We will hold ourselves accountable for whatever amount you may think proper to let James Robinson have for that purpose. We are determined to stay where we are and enjoy our old homes. We hold the same mind we were of, when our friends Enoch Lewis and Joseph Elkinton visited us last fall. Brothers, we believe the love you have felt towards us emanated from the Great Spirit; and we beg the Great Spirit to preserve you and us, and protect us in our rights. There are sixteen chiefs on this reservation, two of whom have joined the emigration party. The Tonewanda Indians are all firmly opposed to selling their lands. At Buffalo reservation, there is a majority of the chiefs in favour of selling, but the warriors are mostly opposed to it. The same may be said of Cattaraugus reservation. There have ninety-two warriors of this reservation signed the remonstrance, and added the number of each family, making in all seven hundred souls, the chiefs having signed it at Buffalo."

Soon after the receipt of this letter, four Seneca Indians arrived at Philadelphia as a delegation from the Six Nations, authorised to proceed to Washington, for the purpose of remonstrating against the ratification of the treaty.

As it was obvious, from the documents in their possession, that the treaty had been extorted from the greater part of those who signed it, by fraudulent means, and that a large majority of the people were decidedly opposed to a cession, upon any terms, of their remaining lands, the committee believed it incumbent upon them, to address a remonstrance against its ratification, to the President and Congress of the United States, and to render the delegation such assistance, in stating their case to the government, and obtaining an impartial hearing, as might be in their power. In pursuance of these objects, four Friends were appointed to proceed to Washington, in company with the Indians; and they accordingly arrived there about the middle of the last month, and laid before the proper authorities the remonstrance of this committee, as well as one of similar import, prepared by our brethren of New York Yearly Meeting, who on

being informed of the proceedings, had given prompt attention to the subject; and also the testimony in possession of the delegation, proving the injustice which must unavoidably be done to the Indians, by confirming and executing the treaty. The following is the copy of our address.*

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* The following Extract from a Letter, written by Charles Meatyard, of East Hamburgh, (United States,) dated 25th of 1st mo. 1838, will throw some further light on the character of those treaties for the acquisition of land.

"The government of the United States are at this time taking steps for the removal of the New York Indians, west of the Mississippi. They have two commissioners here, who are endeavouring to negotiate a treaty of removal. They have been in council more than five weeks.

"Friends, as a body, have not interfered. Those of us who have attended the council, as individuals, have done so at the particular request of the chiefs of the Six Nations. The intention was to watch the proceedings, so as to be witnesses in their behalf, they being apprehensive of unfair dealing—not without cause.

"Many of them are called Christians. They have on this reservation a large and handsome meeting-house of the Presbyterian order; but the rest are not idolaters; their views of the superintending power and influence of the Great Spirit are clear and distinct.

"I know nothing personally of the Indians in Canada; but from inquiry of individuals on whom I can rely, I am informed that they are as far advanced in civilization as the New York Indians, and probably more of them have embraced Christianity. Their habits are in a good degree settled, and the use of ardent spirits is on the decline amongst them. Those known to my informant are parts of the tribes forming the Six Nations, who are at present located in our neighbourhood. They are the Oneidas, Senecas, Tuscaroroas, Onondagos, Cayugas and Mohawks. There are none of the last-named on this side the frontier. Those known to my informant are located on the Grand and Thames rivers.

"The health of the Indians on this side is on a par with that of the rest of the inhabitants of the surrounding country, and I presume it to be so on the other.

"It is rather difficult to give you a distinct idea of the degree of civilization they have attained, because circumstances differ in some degree from similar circumstances in England. When a people begin to improve from the hunter state, it is, I think, reasonable to suppose they would imitate that which is nearest their observation, which in this place was the farmers of the neighbourhood. The degree of civilization they have attained to, is in a considerable degree that of the farmers, their neighbours, but differing in degree in different individuals. Many of the young men amongst them speak the English language, and they appear generally desirous for their children to attain some learning. Several of the young men are receiving their education at college, and two are studying law at Buffalo. Their moral conduct and general character is good, though, as might be supposed, there are some worthless characters amongst them.

"This is the best I am able to do in the way of answer to the several questions proposed under present circumstances.

"I will now proceed to make some general remarks, which may perhaps illustrate some of the answers.

"I have attended the council as frequently as the distance from my

"To the President of the United States, and to the Senate House of Representatives in Congress assembled.

"The memorial of 'The Committee for the gradual Civilization and Improvement of the Indian Natives,' appointed by the Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, commonly called Quakers, in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, and parts adjacent, respectfully sheweth:

"That in the year 1795, the said Yearly Meeting, actuated by feelings of kindness and sympathy towards the remnant of the Six Nations residing in the western part of the state of New York, appointed a committee of its members, to devise a plan for meliorating their condition, by instructing them in literature, agriculture, and some of the mechanic arts.

"After maturing the outlines of such a plan, and previous to engaging in its prosecution, they communicated their views to George Washington, then president of the United States, who gave them his cordial approbation, and encouraged the prosecution of the benevolent design.

"Having thus obtained the full sanction of the executive, the committee entered on its duties; purchased land in the vicinity of two of the reservations, and erected dwelling-houses, barns, school-houses, saw and grist-mills, work-shops, &c. Members of the Society were also employed to reside on the farms, for the purpose of instructing the natives in agriculture, milling, blacksmithing, and other branches of labour, and in school-

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house would allow, it being about eleven miles, and having to go in the morning and return at night, prevented my attending so often as I wished, but I was there enough to discover the whole intrigue, to get rid of the Indians. We were honoured with a burst of wrath from one of the commissioners for addressing the Indians, after the council ended for the day. Our object was to put them on their guard against the traps laid for them. They did not do this when we were present, or they would have heard from us. The Friend who was with me is a man of great resolution, and not afraid to speak his mind to any man.

"At the commencement of the council the government commissioners read something they called a law of the general government, imposing a fine of two thousand dollars, on any one who should use any kind of influence to induce the Indians to stay where they are. I do not know if you are aware of the reason why there is so much anxiety to remove the Indians, for the plea of charity towards them is mere nonsense and hypocrisy. The Indians are invariably in possession of some of the best lands in the respective states where they are settled, and always along the course of the best rivers. This is the reason why they feel so very charitable towards them, and this also explains their pretended fear of their becoming extinct. They see them advancing in improvement, and consequently more attached to their possessions, and from attention to education better able to defend them. They think they must strike soon as every year diminishes their chance. There is no danger of their becoming extinct, except by the progress of civilization they should become intermixed with the white people, and so lose their distinct character. The commissioners make great use of this argument with our Indians; they attempted to work a great deal on the pride of national character. They are desirous of retaining it, but they want their lands with it also.

learning, and to afford them such advice and assistance as their peculiar situation or local difficulties might render necessary.

" These establishments were maintained for many years with little interruption, and one of them still exists near the Allegheny reservation, wholly at the expense and under the management of the religious Society of Friends.

" In the intercourse with the general government, to which this work of charity has given rise, the committee has had the satisfaction to receive the countenance and approval of the presidents who successively filled that high office, as well as to believe that its exertions have tended to increase the happiness of our Indian brethren, and to strengthen their friendly relation with the whites.

" At the period when the committee commenced its labours, scarcely a trace of civilization was discernible among the Aborigines. From the erratic and uncertain pursuits of the chase, they gleaned a scanty and hard-earned subsistence; often pinched with hunger, and miserably clad, while a rude and comfortless cabin formed their only and inadequate shelter from the violence of the elements, and the vicissitudes of the seasons.

" Without yielding to the discouragements which naturally grew out of this state of things, the committee has persevered in its efforts to the present period, cheered by the favourable change which has been silently and gradually wrought, until the aspect of domestic affairs among the nation, presents a striking contrast to their once forlorn and comfortless situation.

" Many of them are living on well-inclosed farms, stocked with horses, cattle, hogs, &c., from the cultivation of which they derive their support; and have erected and occupy substantial houses, respectably furnished, and kept in decent order.

" As the comforts of his home increased, his attachment to it increased also; the propensity for wandering, and the love of the chase, gradually gave way to new and more powerful affections, and the red man learned to cling closer and closer to the enjoyments of his fire-side. To cherish this feeling has been a primary object with your memorialists, as well as to excite emulation in the course of improvement, both physical and moral; and they have witnessed with peculiar pleasure, a steady increase, for some years past, in the population of those under their care: a fact, they believe, almost without a parallel in the modern history of the Aborigines of our country.

" Impressed with the belief that the methods adopted by your memorialists, were calculated to promote the happiness and welfare of this interesting people, and desirous to further the success of the enterprise, President Monroe addressed a letter to the Indians on the Allegheny reservation, (a copy of which is herewith submitted,) recommending them to divide their lands and hold them in severalty, in order that a more active spring might be given to agricultural improvements, and the permanency of their tenure secured.

" Long and undisputed possession of their lands, guaranteed to them by treaties, duly ratified, and with repeated assurances that they should not be removed from them, without the consent of the nation, inspired them with confidence that the United States would adhere inviolably to the faith thus solemnly and repeatedly pledged; and they have gone on making their improvements in the hope of being permitted to enjoy them without molestation, and to transmit them to their posterity.

" In the midst of the security created by their reliance on the fidelity of the government, and in violation of the assurances of protection again and

again extended to them, attempts have been made to effect their expulsion from the land of their fathers, by means, as your memorialists conceive, alike at variance with justice and humanity, and loudly demanding your interference and reprobation.

"At a council of the Six Nations, recently held at Buffalo, a treaty for the sale of their lands was presented to them, and, as your memorialists are credibly informed, various compulsory and deceptive measures were adopted to procure signatures, which resulted in a small minority affixing their names to it; and also that the list was subsequently increased by means of bribery and strong drink.

"We learn, on good authority, that the great body of the nation are united in the determination neither to sell their lands nor to remove from them; and have steadfastly resisted every overture for the accomplishment of these objects. Yet, under the cover of this treaty, thus illegally obtained, and invalid in itself, being the act of a minority only, these poor people are now officially informed that they must leave their homes, and the graves of their fathers, to seek a new residence in the western wilds; that their annuity will only be paid to them on condition of their removing far beyond the Mississippi, and that *there only* will the United States hold official intercourse with them.

"Thus the very existence of this feeble remnant of a numerous and powerful nation, once the proprietors of the soil on which we now dwell, and where we have grown rich, is jeopardized; their rights are invaded, and their property in danger of being unjustly wrung from them.

"In the hour of their extremity we feel constrained by a sense of duty to appeal to you in their behalf, and beseech you to remember the universal obligation of the golden rule laid down by our blessed Saviour, 'Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so unto them.' Their once extensive domain has by repeated cessions to the white man, been reduced to the narrow limits which they now claim, and they are now circumscribed within a reservation, comparatively small and insignificant.

"Shall a great and powerful nation like the United States, rich in soil and in all its products, drive from the scanty pittance of land yet left them, these unresisting and helpless people, to gratify the cravings of avarice? Your memorialists trust not. They respectfully but earnestly entreat you to withhold your sanction from this pretended treaty, and thus save from the stain of so disgraceful an act, the character of our beloved country.

"The sufferings and deprivations they must experience in the event of being forced from their homes and removed to the west, excite our commiseration. Accustomed to the habits and many of the conveniences of civilized life, and to the pursuits of agriculture, they are disqualified for returning to the precarious and exposing life of the hunter. Their proximity to the fierce and uncultivated Indians of the west, must be a fruitful source of difficulties which they are illy prepared to encounter; while the remoteness of their future homes would necessarily suspend the labours of your memorialists for their further improvement, and in a great measure render abortive our exertions for more than forty years, and the expenditure of upwards of 65,000 dollars, the whole of which has been contributed by members of the Society of Friends.

"When we remember that He 'who made of one blood all nations of men to dwell upon all the face of the earth,' has declared himself to be 'the refuge of the poor, the refuge of the needy in his distress,' and the avenger of the wrongs of the oppressed: that 'justice and judgment are

the habitation of his throne,' and that, as respects nations no less than individuals, 'with what measure we mete, it shall be meted to us again,' we feel an ardent solicitude that the rulers of our beloved country, for whose prosperity and welfare we are deeply interested, may be guided in their proceedings on this affecting subject, by the benign spirit of our holy Redeemer, who has emphatically declared, 'Blessed are the merciful for they shall obtain mercy.'

"Signed in and on behalf and by order of the Committee aforesaid,

THOMAS WISTAR, *Clerk.*

Philadelphia, 3rd month 12th, 1838."

Copy of President Monroe's Letter to the Seneca Indians.

"My Red Children,

"I am very glad to learn by your friends Samuel Bettle, Thomas Wistar, Thomas Stewardson, and John Cooke, that you no longer live in that miserable and destitute state which you once did.

"They say that most of you have become sober and industrious; that you have got good houses to live in; and that by cultivating the ground and raising cattle you have now a plenty to eat. This is to me very good news, as I shall always rejoice to hear of the happiness of my red children.

"My Red Children. You cannot become civilized till you have advanced one step further. You know that among my white children, each one has his own land separate from all others. You ought to do the same. You ought to divide your land among families, in lots sufficiently large to maintain a family according to its size. Your good friends the Quakers would, no doubt, enable you to make a just and equitable division. By thus dividing your land, each one could then say, this is mine, and he would have inducements to put up good houses on it, and improve his land by cultivation.

"My Red Children. I have annexed the seal of the United States to this talk, so that you may know it comes from your father the president.

[L. S.] "Signed, JAMES MONROE.

"15th January, 1819.

"To the Seneca Indians living on the Allegheny Reservation."

The Committee had also several interviews with the president of the United States, the secretary of war, the commissioner of the Indian bureau, and a number of members of the senate and house of representatives, to all of whom they endeavoured to communicate full information of the manner in which this pretended treaty was obtained, and the crying injustice which must attend its ultimate execution. They all heard the committee with respect and attention, giving assurances that the subject should be carefully investigated, and their endeavours employed to secure to the Indians the enjoyment of their rights. Notwithstanding these favourable appearances, the committee were sensible of the operation of a powerful influence adverse to the rights and interests of the poor Indian, and that strenuous efforts will be made by those interested in the purchase of the land, to procure the confirmation of this treaty

Representations have been made, under very plausible disguises, to the officers of government, to prove that the interests of the natives would be greatly advanced by their removal to the west of the Mississippi, and that the opposition to the treaty is the work of a few interested individuals.

Previous to leaving Washington, the committee, through the action of some of the senators, procured the printing of the documents which Friends and the Indian delegation had prepared, in opposition to the treaty, by which means they would be placed within the reach of every member of the senate.

As the treaty has not been submitted to the senate, the business is still under the care of the sub-committee, and the issue of this attempt to dislodge these people from their present scanty allotments, must for a time remain uncertain. But whatever the result may eventually be, the trouble and perplexity to which they have been subjected, loudly demand the sympathy and commiseration of every Christian mind, and present a peculiar claim to the continued attention of Friends.

By direction,

THOMAS WISTAR, *Clerk.*

Philadelphia, 4th month 14th, 1838.

Since the preparation of the foregoing report, the sub-committee deemed it necessary again to proceed to Washington, where they spent several weeks in attending to the business, endeavouring to furnish the proper authorities with correct information relative to the treaty and the circumstances attending its negociation. In the sixth month the treaty was taken up by the senate and remodelled, by which the terms of it were so materially changed as virtually to annul its provisions. Several new articles were inserted as amendments, which together with the other parts are to be again fully explained to the Indians, and submitted to their consideration; not in one general council as heretofore, but to each tribe and band separately; and if any one of the tribes or bands do not voluntarily accept of it, it is not to be bound by it; but those accepting, may remove: and it is to be valid and binding as respects them. By this means the whole matter will again come before the Indians for their consideration, and approval or rejection; and such bands as do not wish to accede to its terms will be exempted from the necessity of removal.

The present state of the SHAWNESE INDIANS and the care extended to them will appear from the following extracts from the Correspondence of Friends of Baltimore Yearly Meeting with the Meeting for Sufferings in London.

Baltimore, 12th mo. 14th, 1837.

Dear Friends,

IN our communication of 3rd month, 1835, we gave you some general information of the condition of the Indian natives of this country, their progress in civilization, and of the existing policy of the Government of the United States respecting them, as also of our efforts for the relief and improvement of the Shawnese tribe, under the joint care of Ohio, Indiana, and Baltimore Yearly Meetings, and in compliance with the request of Josiah Forster, dated 9th of 7th mo. 1836, we now propose giving you some additional information on these subjects.

The policy of our Government remains unchanged. By an act of Con-

gress passed 28th of 5th month, 1830, provision was made for an exchange of lands with the Indians residing in any of the states or territories east of the Mississippi, and for their removal beyond that river. It authorizes its president "solemnly to assure the tribe or nation with which the exchange is made, that the United States will for ever secure and guarantee to them, their heirs and successors, the country exchanged with them;" it further authorized him "to cause such tribe or nation to be protected at their new residence against all interruption or disturbance from any other tribe or nation of Indians, or from any other person or persons whatever."

Under this policy it appears by a report from a commision on Indian affairs to Congress, dated 1st of 12th mo. 1836, that within the last eight years, 93,401,637 acres have been ceded by the Indians, for which the United States have stipulated to give them 26,982,068 dollars, and 32,381,000 acres of land, valued at 40,476,250 dollars, making the whole consideration 67,485,318 dollars. This sum is made up of permanent annuities, lands, reservations for individuals, expenses of removal and subsistence, merchandize, mechanical and agricultural establishments and implements. The permanent annuities being commuted at five per cent. lands and reservations valued one dollar and a quarter per acre, expenses of removal, subsistence, merchandize, mechanical and agricultural establishments put down at the amounts appropriated for them.

The following copy of the report made to our Yearly Meeting in the 10th month last, will furnish the necessary information of the progress and present situation of one establishment amongst the Shawnese Indians, also an acknowledgment of the receipt of £290. 1s. from Friends in England, in aid of our endeavours for the civilization and Christian instruction of this tribe.

"TO THE YEARLY MEETING, NOW SITTING.

"The committee on Indian concerns report, that since our last Yearly Meeting, very important movements have been effected in relation to the interesting concern of the civilization and Christian instruction of the Shawnese Indians.

"The committee appointed on this subject by Indiana Yearly Meeting, and who have hitherto, in conjunction with a similar one of Ohio Yearly Meeting, co-operated with us in this benevolent undertaking, have been industriously engaged during the present year in its prosecution.

"By a report from them we learn, that early in the last spring, having received intelligence that the donation of Dr. Unthank of Ireland, had been collected by their agent at Cincinnati, they proceeded to furnish household and kitchen furniture, farming utensils, and a quantity of provisions, &c., in order to enable them to carry into execution the plan of operations, as agreed upon by the three several committees just mentioned. They employed Moses Pearson and his wife, two Friends, as superintendents of the intended establishment for two years, at five hundred dollars per annum, and a young woman, also a Friend, to assist them in their duties, at 100 dollars per annum, all of whom proceeded to their place of destination. They were quickly followed by a deputation from the committee of Indiana Yearly Meeting, who on reaching the Shawnese settlement, ascertained that the superintendent and his companions had arrived there about five days previously, and had already purchased about five acres of corn, we presume of some of the Indians, and were busily occupied in cleaning it out. Elias Newby, a young man, was engaged by

this deputation to act as teacher for the school, for four months, at the rate of twenty-four dollars a month; but should he continue in this capacity until next spring, the compensation to be only twenty dollars per month for the whole term. The deputation had an interview with the Indians at their council-house, in alluding to which they remarked, that the Indians appeared glad to meet with them, looked well, and spoke highly of their country. The deputation were led to believe from the appearance of things in the settlement, and from information elsewhere derived, that this portion of our Aborigines are becoming more sensible of the advantages of civilization. On conferring with them respecting a school, they manifested much pleasure at the prospect of having one among them, and said they would furnish as many children as we wanted, as soon as the teacher and the house were ready for their reception.*

"On parting with John Perry, the head chief, he spoke as follows: 'When you get home, tell my friends the Quakers, that I am their friend, and shall be as long as I live; and when I am laid in the ground I hope my children will be your friends. When we lived in Ohio, where we could get game, I thought it not worth while to send my children to school, and I sent none; but now we live where we cannot get game, I want my children to go to school, and work too.'

"By an extract of a letter addressed by the superintendent of the establishment, to the committee of Indiana Yearly Meeting, dated 12th of 7th mo. last, it would appear that the Indians repose the utmost confidence in the friendly intentions which we have displayed towards them, so much so indeed that they have dismissed from their settlement two resident missionaries, of other religious societies, in order to enjoy exclusively the labour of Friends for their improvement; stating in council that they had had a conference among themselves respecting this subject, and had determined

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* Previously to exchanging their lands in Ohio, and removal west of the Mississippi, and whilst under our care, they (the Shawnese Indians) had made considerable advancement in the arts of civilized life; they had built themselves good hewed log-houses—opened farms—introduced the plough—raised considerable stock—and were greatly improved in habits of sobriety. And the Indian women were instructed in the use of the spinning-wheel, and such kind of business as was suitable for them, and calculated to promote the domestic comfort of the nation. We had also established a school among them, in which the Indian children of both sexes were taught the elementary branches of a common education.

The boys were instructed in the practical business of farming, and the girls in sewing, knitting, spinning, and generally in the business of a family. The orderly deportment of the children, and their improvement, have been highly satisfactory, and afford us encouraging prospects of future success. About twenty Indian children were under the care and tuition of our friends, Henry Harvey and wife, late superintendents at Waughpaughkonnetta, some of whom could read and write *very well*, and several had made some progress in figures; others could read and write, and some had gone through the spelling-book; they were very ingenious, and apt to learn; more so, the superintendents say, than any children they had known, and were very attentive to directions given to them.

Baltimore Committee,
24th 3rd mo. 1835.

to inform the two missionaries that they knew that the Quakers were their friends; that when they went to move away from amongst them, they have left all, and took nothing away with them, and that by this they knew that they were their friends; and that the Quakers had sent on their teachers, (pointing to Elias Newby and the superintendent,) to teach their children, and that they wished them alone to teach their children, and would prefer that the two missionaries should move away; all of which, added to the anxiety which they discovered in relation to the school, is calculated to increase our solicitude for the successful advancement of the benevolent undertaking in which we have embarked.

"The committee would further mention, that in order to render our attempts for the improvement of these Indians more effectual, in a religious point of view, a meeting for Divine worship is to be held regularly on First-days, and in the middle of each week, which the Indians are to be invited to attend. A portion of the Holy Scriptures is also to be read daily, in a solemn manner, to all classes of them who may incline to be present; a silent pause to be carefully observed after the reading.

"We have the satisfaction also to state, that a letter was recently received from Josiah Forster, of England, communicating the information that the sum of £290. 1s., an amount which had been raised by Friends of that country, in aid of our undertaking, was waiting our demand, and that we might draw on a certain banker in London for that sum, which was accordingly done. The nett proceeds of the bill of exchange, including premium, amounting to 1494 dollars, and 48½ cents. which, with ten dollars derived from another source, is now in the hands of Joseph King, Jun., treasurer of this committee.

"In concluding our report, it may prove interesting to the Yearly Meeting, to be made acquainted with the fact, that the United States Government has recently exhibited peculiar marks of a friendly, fostering disposition towards the tribes of Indians who have removed from their old locations to the west of the Mississippi. This is particularly evinced by the circumstance of the agent of the general Government having a short time since laid before various tribes a proposition, the substance of which was, that our Government was willing, with their approbation, to lay off a large tract of country sufficient to contain a number of nations of Indians, and to give them a warrantee deed for the same (describing the boundaries.) That the same tract of country should be known by the title of the 'Indian's Country;' that no white man should have any right within the said boundaries, except his business was sanctioned by the Government; that the Indians should have the privilege of making their own laws; at the same time some laws were recommended, which it was thought best for them to enact; that the Government should be at the expense of building them a good substantial council-house; that each nation should send one or more of their number annually to the said house, there to confer on such subjects as they may be interested in: that they should every year elect one of their number to Congress, there to remain during the session to represent the whole of the nations residing in their country, and that Government would pay all expenses in going to, while remaining at, and in returning from the seat of Government. This important proposal has been accepted by several of the tribes, of which the Shawnese, under our charge, is one. From public documents before the United States Congress of 1836, we conclude that the offer on its part to the Aborigines west of the Mississippi, which we have just noticed, does not look to their again removing to some new territory, but simply proposes their acceptance of these privileges in their present location.

"The committee are glad to be able to state, that from a review of the present condition of our red brethren, as presented to public notice, in the report of the United States Commissioner of Indian affairs, it is manifest that some of the tribes of this long outcast and unhappy people, have, to a very gratifying and encouraging degree, been made participators in the blessings of civilized life, and we see no ground to despair of this coming to be their experience to a still greater extent, as there is exercised towards them, on the part of Christian philanthropy, a good degree of that liberality which 'deviseth liberal things,' and that brotherly kindness which is so eminently a part of the practical charity of the gospel.

"Signed on behalf of the Committee by

"SAMUEL CAREY, *Clerk.*"

On the subject of the education of the Indians, the following extract of an earlier date contains some interesting information.

The education of the Indians is a subject of deep interest to them, and one which the Government of the United States has manifested a desire to promote. In nearly all the treaties with the tribes, a portion of their indemnity, or annuity, is applicable to this object. By existing treaties 35,500 dollars are set apart annually for a limited period, for this purpose, and to which may be added the annual appropriation of 10,000 dollars by the Government for Indian civilization. This last sum is divided among several religious denominations, in support of schools, and their efforts for the Christian instruction of the Indians, in which division Friends have never yet participated. Upwards of one hundred and forty teachers are now employed at the different stations, and 1800 children are receiving the benefits of education. Exclusive of these, there are one hundred and fifty-six Indian scholars at the Choctaw academy, in the state of Kentucky, the expense of whose education, amounting to 18,000 dollars, is defrayed out of the 35,500 dollars above mentioned, which is especially appropriated to that object by several of the tribes out of their annuity. The academy is represented to be in a flourishing condition, and leaves the question of Indian improvement, in letters and morals, upon the social basis, no longer doubtful. The intellectual power is there, and needs cultivation alone for its development and expansion. In this academy mechanical instruction is now combined with the usual course of tuition, and is regarded as the incipient step to the general introduction of trades among the Indians, their young boys availing themselves of it with avidity, and displaying an aptness indicative of eventual proficiency.—*Letter from Baltimore Committee, 24th 3rd mo.* 1835.

THERE is no tribe of North American Indians whose circumstances have attracted more general interest and sympathy than that of the CHEROKEES. Inhabiting the remnant of their patrimonial territory, which they regarded as secured to them and their posterity, by the most solemn treaties of the United States, they have made great advances in civilization, as evinced by their laws, their skill in agriculture and the useful arts, and even by the cultivated intellectual powers of some amongst them. They gave employment to a printing establishment, and supported a newspaper in the English and Cherokee languages, the latter being expressed in characters invented by

one of the tribe. In the mean time, the value of their rich reservations became apparent to the people of Georgia, by whom they were surrounded, and the Government of that state insisted on their being given up to them in conformity with an agreement which it urged that the general Government had made to that effect, without the concurrence of the Cherokees, and in violation of the treaties by which the reservations had been made. Some of the most able lawyers in the United States were retained by the Cherokees to defend their rights in the most legitimate and constitutional manner. Some of those advocates have earned the lasting gratitude and respect of mankind, for the ability and zeal with which they strenuously, and for a time successfully defended the rights of the oppressed. It is well known that the hearts and wishes of no inconsiderable number of the worthiest citizens of America were on the side of the Cherokees, and memorials and remonstrances, in some of which the members of the Society of Friends took a part, were presented to Congress from different parts of the Union: but the agreement of the Congress with the Georgians, like the oath of Herod to the daughter of Herodias, was not to be violated. The general Government has used some efforts to mitigate the blow which it was resolved to inflict, and it employed remonstrance and persuasion before having recourse to coercion. That the inducements which it held out were far from equivalent in the eyes of the Cherokees to the attractions of their native land, will be seen from the following pathetic appeal of the Cherokees, in which may also be seen the character of some of the agents which the enlightened government of a civilized country sometimes suffers itself to employ in its dealings with Aboriginal tribes.

The Memorial of the Cherokee Nation to the Honourable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled, most humbly and most respectfully sheweth,

THAT whereas, we, the undersigned, citizens of the Cherokee nation, have always regarded the instrument purporting to be a treaty made in December, 1835, at New Echota, by the Rev. John F. Schermerhorn, and certain unauthorized individual Cherokees, to be a violation of the fundamental principles of justice, and an outrage on the primary rules of national intercourse, as well as the known laws and usages of the Cherokee nation, and therefore to be destitute of any binding force on us.

* * * With the full detail of our troubles we forbear to trespass on your indulgence. They are extensively known, and our delegation, now at Washington, will be found ready to furnish any information which may be needed.

We therefore respectfully present the following, which will show the appalling circumstances in which we are placed, by the operations of that perfidious compact.

A communication has recently issued from the United States' agency, addressed to the chiefs, head men, and people of the Cherokee nation, in which we are told, that "the executive has formally declined" all intercourse or correspondence with Mr. Ross, in relation to the treaty, "and"

that 'an end has been put to all negotiation on the subject,'—that it is the unalterable determination of the president to execute the treaty,'—'the time cannot possibly be prolonged,'—'another day beyond the time named, cannot, and will not, be allowed you.' The writers say, 'we will not attempt to describe the evils that may fall upon you, if you are still obstinate, and refuse to conform to the requirements of the treaty,'—'we will not paint the horrors that may ensue in such an event.'

It will be readily conceived that declarations like these, emanating from such a source, our country already filled with troops, cannot fail to fill our minds with consternation and surprise. What have we done to merit such severe treatment? What is our crime? Have we invaded any one's rights? Have we violated any article of our numerous treaties? Have we, in any manner, acted in bad faith? We are not even charged with any such thing. But we are accused of 'labouring under a dangerous error,' and of being 'duped and deluded by those in whom we had placed implicit confidence.' 'Your pretended friends,' say they, 'have proved themselves to be your worst enemies.' But what is our 'dangerous error?' What is our 'delusion?' Is it a 'delusion' to be sensible of the wrongs we suffer? Is it a 'dangerous error' to believe that the great nation, whose representatives we now approach, will never knowingly sanction a transaction originated in treachery, and to be executed only by violence and oppression? It cannot be. Is it a "delusion" to assert that the makers of that ill-omened compact were destitute of authority? This fact we are prepared to prove by incontestible evidence. Indeed, it is virtually admitted by the parties themselves, and the very fact, that an armed force should be put in requisition to defend their persons, and to compel our submission, argues, not obscurely a defective confidence in the validity of the compact. Is it obstinacy to refuse our assent to an act which is a flagrant violation of the first principles of free government, and which sets its foot on the neck of our liberties and our dearest rights? Are we to be thus frowned into silence for attempting to utter our complaints in the ear of our lawful and covenanted protector? Is it a crime to confide in our chiefs,—the men of our choice, whom we have tried and found faithful? We would humbly ask, in whom should we confide? Surely not in those who have, in the face of our solemn injunctions, and in opposition to the reiterated expression of our sentiments, conspired the ruin of our country, usurped the powers of the nation, framed the spurious compact, and by artifice and fraud palmed it on the authorities of the United States, and procured for it the recognition of those high functionaries.

And now, in the presence of your august assemblies, and in the presence of the Supreme Judge of the universe, most solemnly and most humbly do we ask—are we, for these causes, to be subjected to the indescribable evils which are designed to be inflicted on us? Is our country to be made the scene of the "horrors" which the commissioners "will not paint?" For adhering to the principles on which your great empire is founded, and which have advanced it to its present elevation and glory, are we to be despoiled of all we hold dear on earth? Are we to be hunted through the mountains like wild beasts, and our women, our children, our aged, our sick, to be dragged from their homes like culprits, and packed on board loathsome boats, for transportation to a sickly clime?

Already are we thronged with armed men; forts, camps, and military posts of every grade already occupy our whole country. With us it is a season of alarm and apprehension. We acknowledge the power of the United States. We acknowledge our own feebleness. Our only fortress

is, the justice of our cause. Our only appeal, on earth, is to your tribunal. To you, then, we look. Before your honourable bodies—in view of the appaling circumstances with which we are surrounded—relying on the righteousness of our cause, and the justice and magnanimity of the tribunal to which we appeal, we do solemnly and earnestly protest against that spurious instrument; and we do hereby, also, respectfully re-affirm, as a part of this our memorial, the resolutions and accompanying memorials of the two last general councils of the nation, held at Red Clay. Our minds remain unaltered. We can never assent to that compact; nor can we believe that the United States are bound in honour and justice to execute on us its degrading and ruinous provisions.

It is true, we are a feeble people; and as regards physical power, we are in the hands of the United States; but we have not forfeited our rights; and if we fail to transmit to our sons the freedom we have derived from our fathers, it must not be by an act of suicide, it must not be by our own consent.

With trembling solicitude and anxiety, we most humbly and most respectfully ask, will you hear us? Will you extend to us your powerful protection? Will you shield us from the "horrors" of the threatened storm? Will you sustain the hopes we have rested on the public faith, the honour, the justice of your mighty empire? We commit our cause to your favour and protection.

And your memoralists, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

Cherokee Nation, February 22, 1838.

Signed by fifteen thousand, six hundred and sixty-five of the Cherokee nation.—*(The Friend.)*

The appeal contained in the preceding memorial was supported by an address from the citizens of Pennsylvania, from which the following paragraphs are extracted.

Memorial in behalf of the Cherokees. To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled.

The undersigned citizens of the State of Pennsylvania respectfully represent.

That they feel a deep interest in the present unhappy condition of the Cherokee nation of Indians, and they have observed with much solicitude the different efforts which have been made to induce your respective bodies to reconsider the treaty purporting to have been made with them at New Echota in the winter of 1835.

Under a firm conviction that this instrument is unjust and cruel in its character—adverse to the best interests of the Indians, and obtained against the consent, and in opposition to the declared will of their nation, —Your memoralists cannot but ardently desire that it may not be further sanctioned by our Government, and its ruinous enactments enforced upon these poor and unresisting objects of its oppression.

When we look to the ancient and indisputable title of these people to the land upon which they reside, and from which it will be the province of this alleged treaty to force them, and drive them, after fifty years of partial civilization, into the wilderness, to return to the savage state, or miserably perish by causes incident to their removal, or by the hands of their more barbarous neighbours; when we consider their former happy

state—the laudable advances they have made towards civilization, and the friendly relations which have so long continued to mark the intercourse between our nation and theirs, we feel constrained, by the tenderest emotions of sympathy, to plead with you on their behalf; and to urge you by every consideration of reason and religion, by your love of justice and mercy, and by the respect you owe to the dignity and character of our common country whose faith has been pledged again and again for their protection, to lend your aid to their cry, and give heed to petitions which have been laid before you on their behalf.

* * * In conclusion, your memorialists deem it right to assert, that in coming before you at this time, they are actuated by no private or political motive whatever, but are moved thereto solely by a desire to serve the cause of the poor and the needy; and by a jealous fear, lest our beloved country may become involved in the crime of cruelty and oppression."—*From the Friend, 7th 4th mo.* 1838.

The following extracts will describe the further progress of this affair.

6th month 2, 1838.

Those whose sympathies are on the side of the persecuted Cherokees, have been cheered with recent indications at Washington of a relaxation in their favour. It appears that the Cherokee delegates for some time in attendance there, had offered certain propositions as to the terms and time of removal, and in relation to the conditions of a treaty to which they were willing to accede. On the 22nd of last month a message was sent to Congress by the President of the United States, transmitting a communication from the secretary of war to the Cherokee delegates, favourable in general to the demands of the latter, and the executive recommending the extention of the time to remove to two years,—their removal by themselves, under their own chiefs, &c., and further appropriations, &c., for that purpose. The hope was thence derived, that the controverted or fraudulent treaty would be abandoned, and that the spectacle of an unoffending and helpless people driven from their homes and rightful possessions, into a wilderness and strange land, at the point of the bayonet, would not take place.

But in the Nation Gazette of the 30th ult., is an address of General Scott to the Cherokees, dated 10th of the month, from the tenour and spirit of which, all hope of mercy to the poor Indians would seem to be in vain, it may be, however, that before the 23rd of the month, the limited period for their removal, counter orders from Washington had reached him. A few days will determine.—*From the Friend.*

Removal of the Cherokees.

We are enabled to lay before our readers the following letter from a gentleman in the Cherokee country, dated 18th 6th mo. 1838. The author is one on the correctness of whose statements we entirely rely.

Mr. Editor,

Soon after the 23rd ult. the inhabitants of Georgia commenced gathering the Cherokees in Georgia: they were generally taken from

their houses, leaving their fields of corn, their cattle, houses, and most of their moveable property, for any person who pleased to take it into possession. As an example—one family was suffered to take nothing from their place but the clothes they had on. After some days the man had permission to return to his former dwelling. He found all his property removed: besides other things he lost seventeen head of cattle, one horse, forty dollars in silver, and a number of valuable books.

Yesterday, which was the Sabbath, about eleven hundred commenced their journey to the far west. These made about four thousand who have already been sent off as "captives." Perhaps as many more are in camp near Ross's Landing, expecting to start in a few days. There are but a few Cherokees now in the country who have not been "captured." But it is an honour to them that they have made no forcible resistance, but submitted peaceably to their conquerors. Probably several thousands more will leave the country the present week.—*From the Friend.*

Our poor Cherokees, with a resignation calculated to secure for them our sympathy, have abandoned in silent despair their fertile fields and beloved homes. Resistance would have been madness, as there were 8000 United States troops collected to enforce the cruel sentence, and the volunteers from all the plundering states were ready to pour in upon them. But will not a day of retribution arrive? Their wrongs they cannot forget, and when their collected force shall number 80,000 tomahawks I tremble for the South and South-west.

E. C. to G. R. 3rd 7th mo. 1838.

21st of 17th mo. 1838. All the accounts in the newspapers agree in stating that the poor, peeled, scattered, forsaken, and unresisting Indians have been hunted like beasts of the forest, like sheep having no shepherd, collected into groups, and hurried away from their cherished homes to a strange and wilderness country; and General Scott, however lauded for the gentleness and forbearance of his operations, if he offers the olive-branch in one hand, holds out the threatening sword in the other, and seems to us to have furnished, by the course he has pursued, a most striking exemplification of the wise king's saying, "the tender mercies of the wicked are cruel." A missionary teacher among the Cherokees, in a letter, well remarks: "Their simple request has ever been, to be let alone. But perhaps they are troublesome neighbours, committing depredations upon the whites. No! nothing of the kind is alleged against them. The vineyard, however, is coveted, and must be had! The claims of eternal justice will never be forgotten, though they may seem to sleep, for God is just."—*Friend.*

Not only has the removal of the Cherokees been in itself a cause of great trial and grief to those Indians; but in the mode of its execution the cruelty has been greatly aggravated. Their removal has been committed to mercenary contractors, who have hastened them across the country in a manner which has subjected them to great fatigue, privation, and suffering. They have been closely crowded into steam-vessels inadequate for their reception, and several hundred, it is said seven hundred, have perished in consequence of unworthy vessels being employed in the service.

As an appendage to the case of the Cherokees, the treatment of a helpless remnant of CREEKS, who sought refuge in their territory is too remarkable and affecting to be omitted.

Our readers are aware, that for several years past the Creeks under the operation of the cruel laws of Georgia, and of treaties forced upon them by the United States Government, have been removing to the country west of the Mississippi. Some of these poor men, it seems, were so averse to removal, that they fled for refuge to their brethren the Cherokees.

Head Quarters, Army, Aug. 3, 1837.

To the Council of the Cherokee Nation.

It is represented to me by Lieutenant Deas, United States army, and superintendent of Creek emigration, that a number of Creek Indians have taken refuge within the limits of the Cherokee nation, and that a party of those people, which was actually being transported, and which escaped on their way from that officer, is now there. It is my duty to retake these people and send them off, and I have ample means to effect that object; but it is respectfully submitted to the council of the Cherokee nation, whether the interests of humanity would not be best consulted by collecting these people peaceably, through the agency of the Cherokee authorities, instead of hunting them down with a military force, which, however strictly instructed, might in the eagerness of pursuit, whether through accident or mistake, commit outrages not only upon them, but even on innocent and unoffending individuals of the Cherokee nation.

WILLIAM LINDSAY.
Colonel, 2nd Artillery, Commanding Army, C. N.

Resolution, &c. of the General Council of the Cherokees.

The general council of the Cherokee nation have had the subject matter of Colonel William Lindsay's communication, respecting certain Creek Indians, under consideration.

The authorities of the Cherokee nation have every disposition to communicate to these people the views and determination of the United States Government respecting them; but they cannot take any steps to lend their aid to any compulsory measure for removing the Creeks out of the limits of the Cherokee nation. The long-established intercourse between them, the usages and laws under which they came into this nation, together with the feelings of humanity, when their unfortunate situation is considered, in connexion with the peculiar condition of our own affairs, all forbid it.

The Creeks residing in the Cherokee Nation to John Ross, Esq., Principal Chief of the Cherokees.

SIR, We have listened to your talk. You say the officer of the United

States wishes us to go to the west. We are sorry to hear this talk. Our minds are troubled. We do not want to go to the west, unless the Cherokees go there too.

We speak to you as a chief of the Cherokee nation. It has been the custom of our fathers and our forefathers to go freely into each other's country. With this knowledge we came into the Cherokee country. We came here to escape from the evils of war. In time of trouble we came to the Cherokees as to the home of a brother. When we came we were kindly treated. Our red brethren made no objection. They did not tell us to leave the country. But we have been pursued by the white man, and treated harshly, without knowing that we are guilty of any crime. While living here we planted corn in the season, but the white man destroyed it, and took away much of our other property. In this bad treatment two of our men were killed, one man shot through the thigh and arm, and three children lost in the flight of their mothers, and have not been found. We do not want to be put into the hands of these men. We ask the favour of you to permit us to reside with you. We ask your pity and protection. We put ourselves into your hands. We ask you to speak for us to the president, our father, that he may order his men not to hunt us through the country. We hope you will pity us; we hope the president will pity us. We want to live with you. We are willing to obey your laws.

Again we speak to the principal chief of the Cherokees.

Most of our numbers are connected with the Cherokees by blood or marriage, and those who are not themselves connected in this manner are nearly related to those who are.

We hope the Cherokee chief will take hold of us and help us before our father the president.

Will you tell the president that the son and brother of Chinnabee, the Creek warrior, who was the strong friend of the whites in peace and war, are here with us, and join with us in this petition? We hope the chief will obtain help for his own people, and that we may share in that benefit; but, if not, we are willing to share in the afflictions of the Cherokees.

You will discover our desires, and we hope you will be able to help us.

Signed at Red Clay, August 12, 1837, by your friends and brothers.—*From the Friend.*

Although the Indians removed beyond the Mississippi have been repeatedly assured that they will henceforth be suffered to enjoy undisputed possession of the territory which has been assigned to them, yet it may reasonably be doubted whether, in their weakened condition, they will be able to maintain themselves against the increasing pressure of western emigration, and prevent the encroachments of the backwoods-men, to whose progress the Government of the United States, though it may be actuated by the best intentions, can give little or no check. The accounts furnished by recent travellers make known the existence of a most accessible and easy passage across the Rocky Mountains, by which enterprising settlers cannot fail to be invited to enter upon the fertile territory, watered by the Oregon or Columbia River. The tribes inhabiting that district are described as an interesting and simple people, and are said already to have ex-

bibited great readiness to embrace Christianity. It is not difficult to foresee what must be their fate, should their land be occupied by white intruders, and themselves exposed to the baneful influence of the rival traders of the Hudson Bay and American Fur Companies.

The Indians of the western territory appear to have suffered to an awful extent, from a cause in which white men have probably been implicated, though in this instance no degree of criminality may possibly attach to them. Various accounts have been received of the extraordinary fatality of an epidemic small-pox of unusual severity, which has spread through many of the tribes. The following letter will give some idea of the extent of the calamity.

Extract of a Letter from Major Pilcher, dated St. Louis, Feb. 27, 1838.

SIR, Having received authentic information from the remote region of the Upper Missouri, of a highly important character, I deem it my duty to communicate it to you without delay, though not entirely applicable to my own agency, having, as I conceive it does, a bearing upon Mr. Harris's letter of the 11th ult. It appears that the effects of the small-pox among most of the Indian tribes of the Upper Missouri surpasses all former scourges, and that the country through which it has passed is literally depopulated, and converted into one great grave-yard. The Mandans, consisting of sixteen hundred souls, had been reduced, by the 1st of October last, to thirty-one persons. The Gros Ventres, or Minetarees, a tribe about one thousand strong, took the disease a month later than their neighbours, the Mandans. One half had perished, and the disease was still raging. They, no doubt, shared the same fate with the Mandans. The Ricaras, who had recently joined the last-named tribes, and numbered about three thousand, were most of them out on a hunting excursion when the disease broke out among the Mandans, and consequently received it somewhat later. One half of them had fallen, and the disease was raging with unabated fury, not more than one out of fifty recovering from it. Most of those who survived subsequently committed suicide, despairing, I suppose, at the loss of their friends, and the changes wrought by the disease in their persons, some by shooting, others by stabbing, and some by throwing themselves from the high precipices along the Missouri. The great band of Assinneboins, say ten thousand strong, and the Crees, numbering about three thousand, have been almost annihilated; and notwithstanding all the precaution used by the gentlemen engaged in the trade of that remote region to prevent it, the disease had reached the Blackfeet tribe of Indians of the Rocky Mountains; a band of one thousand Lodges had been swept off, and the disease was rapidly spreading among the different bands of that great tribe, numbering, I think, about sixty thousand souls. I have no doubt but the predictions contained in my letter of the 27th ult. will be fully realized, and all the Indians of the Columbia river, as far as the Pacific Ocean, will share the fate of those before alluded to. *The Friend.*

These sketches of the situation of the North American Indians would be incomplete without a brief notice of the war which is now being carried on between the United States and the SEMINOLE IN-

DIANS in Florida. These Indians commit the unpardonable offence of loving their country, and feeling attached to the land of their fathers; and they consequently have resolved to cling to the occupation of it, notwithstanding their neighbours have coveted to possess it. The character of their country has enabled them to maintain a protracted and obstinate struggle with the troops of the United States. Millions of dollars have been expended; a great sacrifice of life has been made. Many chiefs, decoyed by the pretext of a treaty of peace, have been seized and cast into prison; warriors from other tribes, (amongst whom may be mentioned the Shawnese, the protegés of Friends,) have been hired by the American Government, and brought into Florida to shed the blood of their brethren; still the Seminoles do not give way; even amongst the members of Congress there are some individuals who appear to sympathize with them, and who admit the justice of their cause, yet in the exasperation of disappointment, a war of extirmination seems to be threatened both in the army and in the senate.

Strong apprehensions have been entertained that the Indians who have been removed to the west, dissatisfied with their present allotment, and brooding over their own expatriation, may engage in a confederacy for the purpose of waging war along the western frontier of the United States, and thereby produce a diversion in favour of their brethren the Seminoles.

An officer and soldiers from the United States army have been sent to overawe any attempts of this kind; and it seems by the most recent accounts, that the danger of war has for the present happily subsided; nevertheless, it is to be feared that permanent tranquillity even in that quarter cannot be relied upon with certainty.

In publishing these particulars respecting the North-American Indians who are principally connected with the United States, the Aborigines' Committee of the Meeting for Sufferings, are fully sensible of the difficulty of doing anything in this country which may have the effect of aiding their cause. They do not adduce these facts to excite abhorrence towards those upon whom they can exert no direct influence even by remonstrance, and still less would they intentionally wound the feelings of any of the worthy citizens of America, who, so far from participating in the oppression of the Indians, do not cease to regret and deplore it. They rejoice in believing that there are many of this class amongst other sects of Christians besides our own—and they would fain hope that their united efforts may not be fruitless. The hands of our American brethren may be strengthened, and their efforts encouraged by our correspondence; we may aid them by contributing to the funds which they may employ in more extensively visiting the Indians, in prosecuting their labours for the promotion of Christian instruction and civilization among them, and in pressing applications in their favour with the Government. We may even co-operate with them by continued

exertions in behalf of those tribes which reside in or near British territories, and by urging our Government to take those steps which we desire to see pursued by the Government of the United States. Finally, whilst careful to employ the just and reasonable means in our power, we may at times be enabled rightly to supplicate the great Preserver of men, without whose favour all our efforts must prove abortive, that he would be graciously pleased to soften the hearts of the oppressors, and to crown our labours with success.

OF THE ISLANDS IN THE PACIFIC.

Our beloved Friend Daniel Wheeler, on his return to this country, personally confirmed the said accounts which had been previously received of the grievous effects resulting in the Sandwich and Society Isles, and other islands of the Pacific Ocean, from the intercourse of Europeans with the natives.

Ardent spirits, disease, gunpowder and fire-arms have been spread amongst them, especially in the island of New Zealand; a dreadful decrease of the population has ensued; and in many instances, the Christian efforts of those who have gone forth to spread the knowledge of the Gospel of peace and salvation have been mournfully counteracted.—*Report from the Meeting for Sufferings to the Yearly Meeting*, 1838.

This affecting subject has from time to time obtained the attention of the Aborigines' Committee of the Meeting for Sufferings; and a sub-committee has been appointed to collect and circulate information relative to it, and to confer with the principal merchants of London engaged in the South Sea trade. This sub-committee has recently published a small tract selected from the letters and journal of Daniel Wheeler, entitled "Effects of the Introduction of Ardent Spirits and Implements of War amongst the Natives of some of the South Sea Islands and New South Wales." Any friends at the out-ports or elsewhere, who may know of suitable channels for its distribution amongst merchants and other persons connected with the South Seas, may obtain a supply for the purpose on applying to William Manley.

THE END.

Harvey and Darton, Printers, Gracechurch-street.

FACTS

RELATIVE TO THE

CANADIAN INDIANS,

PUBLISHED BY DIRECTION OF

The Aborigines' Committee,

OF

THE MEETING FOR SUFFERINGS.

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FACTS

RELATIVE TO THE

CANADIAN INDIANS.

THE ABORIGINES' COMMITTEE of the MEETING FOR SUFFERINGS has continued to direct its attention to the situation of the Indians of Canada, and has availed itself of various opportunities to plead their cause with members of the Government. In the last pamphlet published by the committee, will be found the memorial which the Meeting for Sufferings, at the suggestion of the same committee presented to Lord Durham. The subject was likewise brought before the attention of Lord Durham's private secretary, Charles Buller, M. P.; and it was confidently hoped that these efforts had proved successful in arresting the progress of Indian expatriation, to which the treaty of Sir F. B. Head had given increased activity. Subsequent information has renewed the most serious apprehensions respecting the fate of these Indians. The committee has therefore thought it right to print for circulation through the Society, some recent documents and statements, calculated to awaken a more lively interest in their behalf. They likewise present a brief narrative of the case of the Indians, by which the circumstances of their present situation may be readily understood. The committee is fully persuaded that it is the immediate and imperative duty of those who are concerned for the preservation of this interesting race, to lose no time in seeking to gain from the executive government the most prompt execution of vigorous and effective measures, by which the feeble remnants of once numerous tribes may be rescued from extinction, and the work of conversion and civilization, which has been happily commenced in various Indian settlements, may be encouraged and assisted rather than obstructed and counteracted.

It is believed that petitions in favour of the Indians in the British provinces of North America will be presented to the several branches of the Legislature; and it is hoped that the members of our Society, in different parts of the kingdom, will not be backward in uniting with their benevolent and influential neighbours in giving support to these and similar applications, and in endeavouring to diffuse, in the several circles in which they may be placed, such information on the subject as they may collect from the following pages, and from other authentic sources.

In the official report of Charles Buller, M. P., the private secretary of Lord Durham, printed in this session of parliament, it is stated that three millions of acres of fertile land have very recently been obtained from the Indians by the government. Hence it is obvious that the proceedings consequent upon the treaty of Sir Francis Head had not been arrested. Authentic private information, with which the committee has been made acquainted, confirms this fact, and represents the sale of the lands so acquired as still going forward. The printed report likewise shows that some of the lands which the government has thus offered for sale, had acquired, through Indian improvements, the value of more than £3 per acre. Of the mode in which land has been obtained from the Indians, the same report states, that, "In the return of granted lands accompanying this report (No. 13) are included appropriations made shortly after the termination of the American war, to Indians of the Six Nations, who had abandoned the old seats of their tribe to establish themselves in the province, under the protection of the English crown, as well as some smaller blocks of land, which were reserved for the Indians of other tribes, out of the cessions made by them of the land which they had formerly occupied. The land appropriated for the use of the Six Nations' Indians consisted chiefly of 570,000 acres of fertile and advantageously-selected land, lying on each side of the Grand River, from its mouth to its source. At the present time, according to the statement of Mr. Jarvis, agent for the Indians, they do not possess, in round numbers, more than about 200,000 acres; I believe the precise amount is 187,000 acres. Of the manner in which the large portion they have alienated was acquired by the individuals into whose hands, as it is stated by Mr. Radenhurst, it passed with the sanction of the government of the colony, and nearly the whole of whom were connected with that government, I could not obtain any testimony upon which I could feel myself justified in relying. It is, however, certain that the consideration paid for it was for the most part of merely temporary benefit to them. The government, under whose guardianship the Indians were settled, and whose duty it should have been to provide efficient securities against any improvident grants, by which a provision, intended to be permanent, might be disposed of for inadequate or temporary returns, would seem, in these instances, to have neglected or violated its implied trust. To the extent of this alienation the objects of the original grant, so far as the advantage of the Indians was concerned, would appear to have been frustrated by the same authority, and almost by the same individuals that made the grant. I have noticed this subject here for the purpose of showing that the government of the colony was not more careful in its capacity of trustee of these lands, than it was in its general administration of the lands of the province."

It is by no means easy to obtain satisfactory and full particulars respecting the condition of the Indians who have become dispossessed of their lands; but it is well known that it is felt by them to

be a very serious grievance. Many have gone into the territories of the United States, notwithstanding their long-standing hostility to that government, and the unpromising expectations which the change held out to them.

Several months have passed since a correspondent of the Meeting for Sufferings, in England, applied to a correspondent in Canada, for particulars respecting the treatment of the Indians; but the reply, which was only recently received, is very void of information on these points. The writer, William Rooke, merely says, "We have received a good deal of information on the subject; but it does not reach your enquiries. I do not know that any friend could take a more profitable journey, than to visit these poor people."

The following is an extract from a recent letter from John Sunday, a native Indian missionary, well known to several friends in England, to Sir Augustus d'Este, one of the warmest friends of the North American Indians.

Extract of a Letter from John Sunday to Sir Augustus d'Este.

"Dear Brother,

"I was very sorry when I saw the Lake Simcoe and Cold Water Indians wandering about from one island to another, as the white people have dispossessed them of their lands. When they saw me they enquired whether the order to go away from their lands is from England. I told them that this order is unknown in England; and after I read your kind speech to them their troubled minds were greatly relieved. The head chiefs, Yellow Head, John Assance, Asse-nauk and Wage-mahkang, of French River, and Shen-quakonce of St. Marie, send their hearty and sincere thanks for the kindness you give them. The Indians of Aldersville, I am happy to say, are yet sincere and faithful in serving the Lord, not weary yet in well-doing. So at River Credit, Muncy Town, St. Clair, Saugeeng, Cold Water, Lake Simcoe, St. Marie, Lake Superior, and Rice Lake, and other places. Dear brother, the Christian Indians are as sincere in cultivating their clearings as they are in serving the Lord. Colonel Jarvis, superintendent of the Indian affairs at Toronto, visited us (at Aldersville) last fall, and took a short survey of our village, and seeing so much clearing done in the place, he enquired how long since we settled here; and he was surprised to hear that in eighteen months so much improvement had been done by Indians, and, before he left us, he declared he was very glad to see the Indians desirous of being farmers. They raise considerable wheat, corn, potatoes, and vegetables of every kind, which we never did in our pagan state.

"We have been called out by the authorities to assist in repelling any invasion from the rebels; for we are very sure we would be the most miserable creatures in the world if the British government would happen to give place to a republic. We do not know whether this country will be taken or not. I had the pleasure of seeing

Mr. John Bull in England. His very big head, his long horns. I think, if he moves his head, it will do a great deal; but we hope the Lord will again help us with his interposition, and give us peace. The Indians have all joined with me in shaking hands with our English friends: we shake hands with them from the bottoms of our hearts—those who are interested in the cause of the poor Aborigines of this country.

"I hope the good people in England and Canada will still think of the poor wandering people of the wilderness, so that hundreds, instead of a dozen or two, may be taught useful things."

The Christian Guardian, a Canadian newspaper, conducted by the Wesleyans, contains various interesting particulars respecting the affairs of the Indians, and relates the lively interest with which they look to England for the redress of their wrongs, and for assistance in promoting their advancement. The opinion of the present governor, Sir G. Arthur, and the reports of interviews between P. Jones and Lord Glenelg, cheered them with hope. Though they have always looked up with veneration and strong attachment to the king of England, whom they have regarded as a father, the announcement of expected succour from the Queen's government made them rejoice in the idea that they were to find a mother in Queen Victoria. The following extract, from a late letter from Peter Jones, which was also addressed to Sir Augustus d'Este, is not only a proof of their deliberate attachment to the British interests, but shows with what correct feelings and views they are looking to this country for assistance.

Extracts from Peter Jones' Letter to Sir Augustus d'Este.

"I hope no more attempts will be made to separate these colonies from the mother country. All the Indians have been commanded by the Lieutenant-governor to hold themselves in readiness, in case their services should be required for the defence of the province.

"We are more and more convinced that, in order to raise the Indian character, manual-labour schools must be established amongst them. Could not our Quaker friends, in London and the vicinity, do something towards supporting such a school at this mission? Ever since the days of William Penn the Society of Friends have been warm friends to the red men of the forest, and the Indians to this day respect the white men who wear the broad-brimmed hats. The Indians themselves are willing to contribute out of their scanty means for such an object. If the Quakers felt disposed to assist in the support of such an institution, I should feel great pleasure to report to them, from time to time, of the progress the children might make in their education, and in the attainment of useful trades."

The same intelligent Indian read to a member of this committee a very able address, which he had drawn up for presentation to the British government. It appeared to have wholly emanated from

himself and his brethren, and its object was to solicit that the Canadian Indians might be recognized as British subjects, and be admitted to full participation in the rights and privileges of Britons. Although the concession of these points would not only be the most important measure which could be adopted for the security and elevation of the Indians, but would also set such an example of the recognition of the rights of the Aborigines as would mark an era in the history of the coloured races, the address containing this petition was never presented, because some of Peter Jones's friends believed that the request was not in all respects advisable at that time.

Another proof that the Canadian Indians are capable of understanding the advantages to be derived from the possession of their civil rights, is seen in the fact, that the insurgents offered them this boon, for the purpose of tempting them from their allegiance. It also shows that it must be impolitic as well as unjust to withhold these rights from the natives.

The United States Indians have manifested a similar desire to obtain the recognition of their civil rights. A recent American paper states that the Brotherton Indians in Wisconsin are seeking permission to become freeholders and citizens.

So lately as the 18th of third month last, the Rochester Advertiser announced that one of the Seneca Indians, who had received a classical education, and passed through a regular course of legal studies, and been admitted to the bar in the supreme court of New York, and the circuit court of the United States, and had resided some years at Buffalo, tendered his vote at the late charter election, but it was refused.

It is important to refute the assertion, repugnant at once to reason and humanity, that the Indians, as a race, are incapable of civilization and unfit to be made partakers of civil rights. The character, conduct, and letters of Peter Jones, the progress of John Sunday, an Indian of pure blood, who taught himself to read after the age of thirty, and has become a zealous and able missionary to his people, and the fact that Indian youths have carried off the first prizes in the Wesleyan College in Upper Canada, would seem sufficient to prove how unfounded is the charge; yet the following extracts, in proof of Indian capability, may not be useless, and cannot be read without interest.

Extracts from the private Journal of Dr. Foville, while on a Tour with the Prince de Joinville.

"About eight o'clock we perceived the City of Buffalo, situated towards the eastern extremity of Lake Erie. Buffalo is seen from a distance. The steeples, covered with zinc, sparkle in the sun. We soon disembarked, and we could then more closely admire the city, the elegant and new houses of which indicate its youth. At ten o'clock we went with the prince in a carriage to visit some Indians settled some miles in the country. We met on our road a consider-

able number of these men, clothed something like our peasants; but their red skin, their characteristic features, their dark, straight and shining hair will not admit of their being confounded with the men of any other race. Each time that we met a new group, or another individual of this family, we were struck with the great analogy which exists between their physical character and that of the Indians of Guiana, whom we have visited in their undisturbed forests, on the banks of the rivers of South America. The route which we are following separates fields cultivated by men of the red race. In seeing the country in such a state of cultivation, we can easily believe what we have been told in favour of the intelligence of these Indians. These men have schools and churches, and show an aptitude to excel in all respects. We went into one of their houses. We found it neatly kept. The inhabitants received us with politeness. The prince bought some moccasins of soft leather, ornamented with a border not devoid of elegance. Each of us wished to take with him something which might recall the recollection of his visit. We paid for our purchases with French money. The Indians know very well the value of this money, so as to calculate how much was required to equal the sum demanded in American currency. All they said to us was well expressed. I have never seen any European farm where the dairy was kept more neatly than the one adjoining the house into which we went. In the afternoon we heard from the French settled at Buffalo great praise of these Indians. On another occasion the son of our illustrious Guy Lussac assured us that, during a residence of some months amongst the men of the red race, he had found in them excellent moral qualities, and great intelligence. Must we not with these data believe that they are called to partake of the benefits of the civilization which the European races have transported into North America? Such is not the condition which the government of the United States is now preparing for them. In spite of themselves the land which they cultivate is bought, and these unfortunate people are embarked on the lakes, and then on the Ohio and Mississippi, to go into the remote regions of the west, to seek a new soil, which they are permitted to occupy till the progress of the European race drives them still further back and completes their extermination."

Extract of a Letter from B. A. Simon, Widow of the late benevolent Erasmus Simon, addressed to Dr. Hodgkin.

"Having visited the Aborigines entirely unconnected with any society, and on our own resources, and having fixed our residence in the country of the Onondago reservation; we announced our intention to educate such youths as should be entrusted to our care by the surrounding remnants of the once powerful Wyandots, Tuscaroras, Senecas, Mohawks, Oneidas, and Onondagos, who, at an early period, branched off from the central seats of government, and established themselves on that territory, extending from New York to the great

lakes on the borders of Canada. We felt that there was on the part of the Indians, on the one hand, an earnest desire to have their children instructed in useful arts, whilst on the other, they dreaded that *alienation* and *self-seeking*, which they invariably found to be the result of sending their youths to the seminaries of the United States. The design of my husband in adopting into our family such children as they were willing to offer for a course of instruction, founded on different principles, was more especially to prove to the Indians that '*religious instruction*' no more implied their becoming a divided people by enlisting themselves under the rival banners of conflicting names and creeds, than that the *education* of their youth implied estrangement from their own, and attachment to interests as foreign to their well being as individuals, as they were destructive of their very existence as a people.

"To say that the progress of the children kept pace rather with our wishes than expectation, would not be too much; since such was their aptness for study, clearness of perception, and vigour of thought and expression, as to lead us to conclude that the years of childhood are more profitably spent in storing up among the fields and forests such materials for future thought and application, as the analogies of nature supply, than can be obtained by overloading the memory with 'cut-and-dry' book-lessons within the walls of a school-room.

"And in no case was their genius for inductive knowledge more satisfactorily manifested, than in their correct apprehension of that sublime mode of instruction, which is wrapt up in the familiar forms of nature, as exemplified in the *parables* of our Lord. While of the *perceptive* portions of holy Scripture, it may truly be said, that having taken root in an honest and upright heart, 'it yielded the peaceable fruits of righteousness.'

"That elevation of mind which distinguishes even at this day the *unperverted* chieftains of this race, characterised, in a remarkable degree, the six lineages whose names have already been given. And it was impossible for any people to have a higher sense of their rights, as freemen, or a keener feeling of the manifold and increasing wrongs which the representatives of Christendom mercilessly heaped upon them. To these causes may chiefly be attributed that thrilling eloquence to which so many writers have borne testimony, and which even inadequate translation has not so defaced as to deprive them of their high reputation.

"An address delivered in council, in the presence of Sir William Johnston, who spent many years among the Mohawks, and was well acquainted with their language, shall be given as taken down by him. The subject of the address is one which has been as frequently the theme of patriotic indignation, as the usurpation of their soil and the extermination of their race, since the agency of ardent spirits has even outdone that of the sword in its destructive effects.

'Fathers, brethers, and countrymen,—we are met to deliberate upon what? upon no less a subject, than whether we *shall*, or shall

not be a people. I do not stand up, O countrymen, to propose plans of war, or to direct the sage experience of this assembly in the regulation of our alliances—your wisdom renders this from me unnecessary. The traitor, or rather the tyrant, which I arraign before you, O my people, is no native of our soil, but rather a foreign miscreant; an emissary of the evil power of darkness. It is that pernicious liquid which our *heartless* white friends have so artfully introduced, and so plentifully poured in upon us. O, ye Creeks, I thunder in your ears this denunciation, that if this cup of perdition continue to rule among us with sway so intemperate, ye will cease to be a people; ye will have neither heads to direct, nor hands to protect you. While this destructive poison undermines all your powers of body and of mind, with ineffectual zeal the warrior's enfeebled arm will draw the bow or launch the spear in the day of battle. In the day of council, when national safety stands suspended on the lips of the hoary sachem, he will shake his head with uncollected thoughts, and drivel forth the babblings of a second childhood.'"

The writer of the foregoing testimony to the capabilities of the Indians, takes a most lively interest in the fate of this abused people, and has collected a mass of interesting materials which it is hoped she will one day publish.

It has been injuriously represented that the Indians are wholly averse to adopt the habits of civilized life and second the efforts which are made to introduce the arts and education amongst them. The foregoing extracts from Peter Jones's and John Sunday's letters, are directly opposed to this assertion. Sir James Kempt says, "that the Indians are generally desirous of learning to read and write, but that, from the inadequacy of the salary hitherto allowed to the schoolmasters of the department, (£8. 11s. 5d., sterling,) no persons competent to the duties of the situation have ever retained it for a sufficient length of time to be of material service in their education." In the same document he says, "An effort to promote the disposition amongst the Indians to assume the habits of civilization, which are now said to prevail, is but an act of retributive justice; for we are surely bound to afford them every reasonable facility and assistance in obtaining the means of existence, which they are rapidly losing by our encroachment upon the lands from which they were formerly derived." General Darling says of the Mohawks, "In earnest of their desire to profit by the labour of their minister, they have readily agreed, on my recommendation, to allot 100 acres of land to each school that may be formed on the Grand River under his direction.

"I submit, with all deference, whether it is not worthy the liberality of the British Government to encourage the disposition now shown generally amongst the resident Indians of this province, to shake off the rude habits of savage life, and to embrace Christianity and civilization.

"It appears to me that this would not be attended with much expense. A small sum by way of salary to a schoolmaster wherever a school may be formed, say four or five in the whole, a trifling addition to the salary of the present missionary, who is paid by a society, and of a second if appointed, which I believe is contemplated by the Lord Bishop of the diocese; and some aid in building school-houses.

"There are Chippawas who have prayed urgently for a missionary and schoolmaster to be sent amongst them."

It must be observed that these statements of Sir J. Kempt and General Darling were made as far back as the year 1829, and there is reason to believe that the desire, on the part of the Indians, to receive the benefits of civilization are in proportion to the progress of their conversion to Christianity, and to the increasing inadequacy of their former modes of subsistence.

The employment of the Indians as irregular troops has been one of the most fruitful sources of mischief to them, as well as of disgrace to the British nation. It has occasioned them a fearful destruction of life and loss of territory, it has fostered their worst passions, and it has rendered war at all times antichristian and inhuman, peculiarly savage and barbarous. It is greatly to be regretted that so recently as the late insurrection, the Indians have been called out as a military force. The following interesting anecdote, which was communicated to Sir A. D'Este by a British officer in Canada, shows that even in the treatment of their enemies, they are no longer the cruel savages which they have been represented, and that their fidelity is equalled by their address and moderation.

"At no great distance from Montreal, (at a spot called Cang-na-wa-ga,) is a settlement of Indians; they form a part of the five nations; these were among the earliest of the red race who entered into the Christian fold.

"At the breaking out of the late rebellion in the Canadas, a party of insurgents of the lower province thought that it would be a clever thing by guile, or by force, to obtain the arms which were well known to be in the possession of the Indians of Cang-na-wa-ga. A party of rebels, consisting of upwards of one hundred men, undertook its accomplishment.

"The day selected for carrying their plan into execution, was the 4th of last November, (1838.)

"It was early upon a Sunday morning when the inhabitants of the village, congregated in their church, were occupied in the reverential duties of the day, that a young Indian, with an elastic but noiseless step, entered at the door of the sacred building, moved rapidly to the officiating minister, and whispered with earnestness in his ear. The minister informed his congregation that there was a large body of men, of very questionable appearance, occupying the wood immediately adjacent to the village, and that they must be quick and arm, so as to be prepared for whatever might happen. The Indians left their church, seized their rifles, and in a few

minutes were assembled around the flag-staff, which stands in the centre of their village.

"The chief hastily reconnoitred, and soon determined that, under existing circumstances, it would not be advisable for him to begin hostilities, the wood which surrounded their village being in the possession of their more than questionable visitors. He determined therefore, if possible, to draw them from the advantage of their covert into the more open space afforded by his own village; to this end he dispatched five of his young men *unarmed*, ostensibly to inquire what were the intentions of the Canadians, who came in such numbers and with arms. The answer was, 'We come to borrow the arms of the Indians of the five nations, for the purpose of attacking and of taking La Prairie; and if the Indians refuse the loan we must have a fight for them.'

"The young Indian who was spokesman upon the occasion rejoined, 'We are but children; come into our village and speak with our chief.'

"The Canadian insurgents, to a man, acted upon the proposition, and in a body hurried towards the village.

"As the Canadians entered the village on one side, the Indians, who had been instructed by their chief, quitted it, in two bodies, on the other, separating to the right and to the left.

"The Canadians having arrived at the open space, which is in the centre of the village, approached the dwelling of the chief, and demanded from him the loan of the arms. At this moment a shrill whoop was heard to ring through the adjacent forest: it was the signal by which the chief was to learn that his orders had been effectually completed by the extension of the two bands, so as to surround their own village. The chief then said, 'The arms for which you ask were given to us by our great father, the King. We will only part with them with the last drop of our blood. You heard that whoop—my young men are all around you—there is no escape—you are my prisoners. I do not wish to shoot you down, nor will I, unless you pull the first *trigger*. But you must surrender—*lay down your arms.*'

"It was soon made evident to the Canadians that what the chief had said was true; that they had blindly come into his trap, and were irremediably in the power of the Indians, without one chance of escape.

"Under such circumstances nothing remained but to submit; they accordingly did so, and were marched into Montreal prisoners, and by *the Indians.*"

The letters from Peter Jones and John Sunday, from which quotations have already been given, show, that the Indians have been generally called on for military service; and it ought to be observed that, objectionable as this course is in itself, there are circumstances connected with it which increase its hardship as respects the Indians. Whereas the militia service required of the white residents in the province falls on only a small proportion of the males capable of

bearing arms, this call is general to all the Indians of this class, which must render the service not only oppressive and injurious to their struggling settlements, but must expose their already diminished population to a very disproportionate risk of life. The white population are called upon to give their quota of service as a part of the terms on which they receive the protection and privileges of the state; but with regard to the Indians, military service does not confer the same privileges. In former times land was held immediately from the crown, in return for military service, and this service was partial and for a limited period; but, in the case of the Indians, their unlimited service is requited by depriving them of their possessions.

The payments and presents which are given to the Indians, professedly in exchange for their land and in requital for services, are, for the most part, made in such a form as to be of little advantage to them. Not only are the articles themselves often objectionable, but they are given to the Indians at so great a distance from their homes that the expense and loss of time incurred by the journey are a serious evil. Intoxication is encouraged by the festivity promoted at the distribution of the payments. Many articles which might be serviceable are disposed of to iniquitous traders, who make a point of attending on these occasions, and it forms a subject of just complaint by Sir F. Head, that the stores on the American frontier are to a considerable degree supplied by articles thus obtained from the Indians. This abuse cannot, however, justify the reduction of the payments, which he proposes, but should lead to a prompt reform in the mode of making them. John Sunday informed a member of the committee that, after a distribution of this kind, at which some of the Indians were desirous of carrying home their quotas in specie for future use, they had the mortification to find that all their dollars were counterfeit: he did not attribute this fraud to any official individuals, but to the artifice of the accompanying traders, who obtained this result by a combination of exchanges.

In the pamphlet last issued by the committee various particulars were given respecting the compulsory removal of the Indians from the territories of the United States. By the treaties there referred to, notwithstanding their oppressive and injurious character, a certain payment for the ceded territory was stipulated for, and an average price of about two-thirds of a dollar per acre was agreed to by Congress. This land, it should be observed, consisted of much fertile, improved, and favourably situated territory, whereas the lands to which the Indians are expelled are not only badly situated, in a far western yet inland position, but a considerable part of them is stated to be perfectly barren, and incapable of affording subsistence for man; yet the average price of the land to be thus given in exchange is valued to them at considerably more than a dollar per acre. Revolting as the terms of this contract must unquestionably appear, they are liberal when compared with those which our Government has sanctioned with regard to our confiding Indian allies.

No one disputes the unbounded confidence and warm attachment of the Indians to the British Government and interest. They have ever looked up to the king of England, whom they have been taught to regard as their great father across the waters. It would be difficult to find words by which their attachment and their confidence could be better expressed than those which Sir F. B. Head himself employed, in the very despatch in which he announces to the colonial secretary the unequal bargain which he had made with the same people. "Their attachment to our sovereign," he says, "amounts almost to veneration." "When we see the sun rise in the east," said a warrior at the great council which Sir F. Head held with the Indians, "it is our custom to say to our young men, There is our great father; he warms us, he clothes us, he gives us all we desire." Sir F. B. Head also says, "The fate of the red inhabitants of America, the real proprietors of the soil, is, without any exception, the most sinful story recorded in the history of the human race: and when one reflects upon the anguish they have suffered from our hands, and the cruelties and injustice they have endured, the mind, accustomed to its own vices, is lost in utter astonishment at finding that in the red man's heart there exists no sentiment of animosity against us, no feeling of revenge; on the contrary, our appearance at the humble portal of his wigwam is to this hour a subject of unusual joy. If the white man be lost in the forest, his cry of distress will call the most eager hunter from his game; and, among the tribe, there is not only pleasure but pride in contending with each other who shall be the first to render assistance and food." He likewise remarks that "it must be recollected that in our wars with the Americans we gladly availed ourselves of the services of the Indians, whom invariably we promised we would never desert." It seems that in our treaties with the Indians very little regularity has been observed, since, again to use the words of Sir F. B. Head, on our part little or nothing documentary exists; "the promises which were made, whatever they might have been, were almost invariably verbal; those who expressed them are now mouldering in their graves. On the part of the Indians the case is very different; they not only preserve the tradition most carefully in their tribes, but their string of wampum becomes a record even of the most minute details, and the fidelity with which they adhere to their duly solemnized engagements admits of neither question nor doubt." Sir Francis adds, "that an Indian's word, when it is formally pledged, is one of the strongest moral securities on earth: like the rainbow it beams unbroken when all beneath is threatened with annihilation." Again, the "regular delivery of the presents proves and corroborates the testimony of the wampums, and by whatever sophistry we might deceive ourselves, we could never succeed in explaining to the Indians of the United States that their great father was justified in deserting them."

Notwithstanding their ancient title, by which the continent itself may be regarded as theirs in virtue of the treaties by which the possession of scanty reservation has been promised, on the pledge of

our national faith; and, notwithstanding their unlimited devotion to the British cause, the treatment which the Indians have received has been such as almost to justify the character given of it by the late governor, when he says, in the words already quoted, "that it is the most sinful story recorded in the history of the human race." Whilst in every period of their history their virtues have been the subjects of praise and admiration, it seems merely to have had the effect of tempting new adventurers to impose on the goodness of their nature. The success of every agent who has beguiled them into a concession of territory has prompted others to adopt the same pernicious course. The complaints and lamentations of the Indians are reiterated in vain, and in the British dominions, as well as in the United States, the injustice and enormity of these expatriations have been exposed to little purpose, whilst the most urgent remonstrances are of no avail with those who yield to the influence of the avaricious speculator in the coveted lands of the Indians. All travellers who have visited the Indian tribes, whether situated in the vicinity of whites, or wandering in the most remote depths of their forests, concur in describing their decline in numbers as rapid and universal, with the sole exception of those settlements in which the united blessings of Christianity and civilization have been conferred on the Indians who are eager to receive them. Some idea of this decline may be drawn from the following data.

Without entering upon the interesting story of the natives of Canada under the French domination, it is sufficient for our present object to state that even at the conquest in 1759, powerful tribes of Abenaqua, Algonquin, Iroquois, Mississagua, and Huron Indians, occupied the country from below Quebec, to the furthest part then held by the French to protect their traders beyond Lake Erie. In 1721, Charlevoix, a high authority, estimated the population of *some* of the Algonquin tribes at 6000 souls, but they were then diminishing daily under the influence of spirituous liquors, diseases, and other causes. (*Charlevoix, History of New France, vol.* iii. p. 189.) It would seem, from the following extract from a British author, that the French have been less culpable than the English with respect to the introduction of intoxicating drinks amongst the Indians.

"It must be owned their diseases are few, and those chiefly arising from colds taken after drinking spirituous liquors, which they buy from the English, contrary to the wiser maxims of the French, who sell them none. The French esteem these liquors not only prejudicial to the constitution of the natives, but also to their trade, for as that depends on their hardiness, dexterity, and success in hunting, it must necessarily decline as these qualities are impaired. This is obvious also in point of fact amongst those Indians who have an intercourse with the English." See *Henry Ellis's Voyage of the Dobbs and California*, p. 187.

"Some of the tribes of the Iroquois, with whom the French had many disastrous wars, were then estimated at 60,000 souls (Charlevoix *ib. p.* 203); and the Hurons, who were settled in parts of Upper

Canada, were extensive agriculturists, and a denser population." (*ib. p.* 198.)

In 1759 the French colonists and traders amounted to about 60,000 souls, of whom a considerable number are believed to have been a mixed race, either illegitimate, or, in not unfrequent cases, sprung from marriages of French with Indians.

The peculiar injuries done to the Indians by both French and English exciting them to take part in wars in which they had no interest, but which aggravated all their natural passions, of a dangerous and warlike tendency, ceased in 1763. But at the same time, the English had no motives to conciliate them until the wars with the United States; and our general system was at least as mischievous to the Indians as that of the French. The result is a reduction of the Indian population of the Canadas, to 43,000, at the highest estimate; (*M'Taggart, Three Years in Canada*) viz. 15,000 for Lower Canada, and 28,000 for Upper Canada; whilst the white population has risen to more than 900,000 souls. The estimated native population of Lower Canada, in 1831, was 3,437 souls in 687 families.—*House of Commons' Papers*, 1834., *No.* 617, p. 95.

The exact number of all the above-mentioned tribes that received presents in Lower Canada, in 1828, was only 2,922 souls, being the supposed mass of the Indian population; in Upper Canada it was only 9457.—*Ib.* p. 23. It is certain, however, that from the distance and inconvenience of the situation in which the distribution is made, many Indians absent themselves. This result was contemplated by Sir F. B. Head, and looked to as the cause of economy from the amount of unclaimed payments.

Although the Indians have on different occasions given up valuable tracts of land, in consideration of some kind of payment, generally in the form of limited annuities, the price has been very inadequate, and the desire to gratify the British government has, perhaps, weighed with the Indians almost as much as the return which they were to receive. Hesh-ton-a-quet repeatedly assured a member of the committee that the large concession, to which his father was a party, at the close of the last American war, was made from a desire to please the king of England. Although Sir F. B. Head appears to have exaggerated the cheerfulness of the Indians, in parting with the land to him, as governor, yet it cannot be doubted that the readiness to yield greatly facilitated his striking that unequal and injurious bargain. It has been repeatedly stated that the Indians complain of the loss of their land, and that, when the white man desires it, he must have it. The letter of Hesh-ton-a-quet, which was published in the last pamphlet, proves at once their desire to hold, and their fear to refuse it. That artifice and force are both employed on the American side of the frontier, is fully shown in other documents contained in the same pamphlet, and the removal of some of the Saugeen and other Canadian Indians, seems to have also been compulsory.

It would appear, that though when ordered off their lands, they obey without resistance, they are earnest in using peaceable and legitimate means of obtaining redress and justice, so far as they possess the knowledge of such means. Within a comparatively few years, different deputations of Canadian Indians, unsuccessful in their attempts in the province, have come to this country to obtain what they conceived to be the due performance of treaties made between them and the British government. Hesh-ton-a-quet though brought to this country under a false pretext, was prepared to take advantage of the occasion to urge on behalf of his tribe the recognition of their right to a certain island. That recognition had been often sought, but was never granted, though the truth of the statement was not denied. John Sunday, when in this country, related the frequent but constantly fruitless attempts which he had made on behalf of his tribe to obtain the titles of their land.

It must be sufficiently obvious that this treatment is not only calculated to give to the Indians the offence and annoyance which Sir F. Head himself attributes to it, but that it must also increase that uncertainty of tenure, which both checks the disposition to make improvements, and prepares them to listen to proposals and persuasions to abandon their territories, although they have so much reluctance to do this, that they are ready, when able, to become money-purchasers of small plots of their ancient possessions.

It may now be proper to relate some of the particulars of the last acquisition of Indian lands, which has been made by the treaty of Sir F. B. Head. ' This treaty, and its results, have been repeatedly alluded to as a serious subject of complaint, and at the present time they constitute the most pressing grievance, which calls for the attention and remonstrance of all well-wishers to the Indian race.

Notwithstanding the generally unjust and injurious character of the conduct of the British towards the Canadian Indians, several of those in office, both at home and at the provinces, have been actuated by kind, benevolent, and wise considerations in regard to them. Sir George Murray, Sir John Colborne and Sir James Kempt, merit, in an especial manner, to be respectfully and gratefully remembered, for their exertions on behalf of the Indians. But although such extensive tracts of land had been obtained from these Aborigines, for much less than their value, and though their services had been long continued, faithful, and most ruinous to themselves, an idea seemed to prevail in this country, if not in Canada, that too much was given to them. The expenses of the Indian department were greatly complained of. That there existed great abuses, in the application of a large portion of the sums which passed through that department is not doubted, and that the little good which the Indians derived from that which was justly due to them, afforded grounds for complaint and reform is not to be disputed.

The obtaining of this very necessary reform, was neither the object

nor the result of the complaints which were made. Whatever were the precise words of the instructions, which went from this country, it appears from official printed reports, that orders were sent for the supension of those very efforts on behalf of the Indians which form almost the only features in the case, which can be contemplated with anything like satisfaction.

The most important document in regard to this policy, is a message of Sir F. B. Head, to the legislature of Upper Canada, dated the 29th of January, 1838; and containing his despatches of the 20th of August, 1836, and others respecting the new systems substituted for that of Sir John Colborne and other officers, and Lord Glenelg's replies sanctioning the change.

The first despatch of Sir F. B. Head opens with the following paragraph:

"Your Lordship is aware that my predecessor, Sir John Colborne, *with a view to civilize and Christianize the Indians* who inhabit the country north of Lake Huron, *made arrangements for erecting certain buildings* on the great Manatoulin Island, and for delivering on this spot to the visiting Indians, their presents for the present year. The INSTRUCTIONS WHICH I RECEIVED FROM YOUR LORDSHIP TO COUNTERACT OR DEFER THESE ARRANGEMENTS, reached me too late to be acted upon; and on the 20th of November following, Sir Francis B. Head states that he had put a stop to the arrangement of Sir John Colborne at the Manatoulin Island."

It is not surprising, that with instructions of this kind from the colonial office, Sir F. B. Head should have employed his known activity and talent in endeavouring to reform the Indian department; but it is marvellous, that with the sentiment to which he gives expression in his despatches, from which quotations have already been made, he should have adopted the course which he did.

This course we give in his own words:—

"At the great Manatoulin Island, in Lake Huron, where I found about 1500 Indians, of different nations, assembled for their presents, the Chippewas and Ottawas, at a great council held expressly for the purpose, formally made over to me 23,000 islands. The Saugin Indians also voluntarily surrendered to me a million and a half of acres of the very richest land in Upper Canada. On proceeding to Amherstburg I assembled the Indians who occupy in that neighbourhood, a hunting-ground of rich land, six miles square, two-thirds of which they surrendered to me, on condition that one of the said two-thirds should be sold, and the proceeds thereof be invested for their benefit. The Moravian Indians, with whom I had also an interview have likewise agreed, for an annuity of £150, to surrender to me about six miles square of black rich land, situated on the banks of the Thames River. I need hardly observe, that I have just obtained for His Majesty's Government, from the Indians, an immense portion of most valuable land, which will doubtlessly produce, at no remote period, more than sufficient to defray the whole of the expenses of the Indians, and the Indian department, in this province."

Sir Francis B. Head elsewhere says, that the islands referred to exceed in number 23,000. "Although formed of granite they are covered with various trees, growing in the interstices of the rocks, and with several descriptions of berries, upon which Indians feed. The surrounding waters abound with fish."

"Although I did not approve of the responsibility, as well as the expense of attracting, as had been proposed, the wild Indians north of Lake Huron to Manatoulin, yet it was evident to me that we should reap a very *great benefit* if we could persuade these Indians, who are now *impeding the progress of civilization* in Upper Canada, to resort to a place possessing the double advantage of being admirably adapted to them (inasmuch as it affords *fishing, hunting, bird-shooting, and fruit,*) and yet *in no way adapted for the white population.* Many Indians have long been in the habit of living in their canoes amongst these islands, and from them, from every inquiry I could make, and from my own observation, I felt convinced that a vast benefit would be conferred, both upon the Indians and the province, by prevailing *upon them to migrate to this place.*

"I accordingly explained my views in private interviews I had with the chiefs, and I then appointed a grand council, on which they should all assemble and discuss the matter, and deliberately declare their opinions. When the day arrived, I addressed them at some length, and explained to them, as clearly as I was able, their real interests, to which I found them very sensibly alive.

"The Indians had previously assembled to deliberate on the subject, and had appointed one of their greatest orators to reply to me.

"The individual selected was Sigonah (the Blackbird,) celebrated amongst them for having, it is said, on many public occasions, spoken without once stopping, from sunrise to sunset.

"Nothing could be more satisfactory than the calm, deliberate manner in which the chief gave, in the name of the Ottawa tribes, his entire approval of my projects; and as the Chippewas and Ottowas thus consented to give up twenty-three thousand islands, and as the Saugins also consented to give up a million and a half acres adjoining the lands of the Canada Company, I thought it advisable that a short, plain memorial should be drawn up, explanatory of the foregoing arrangements, to be signed by the chiefs while in council, and witnessed by the Church of England, Catholic, and Methodist clergymen who were present, as well as by several officers of his Majesty's government.

"I enclose to your Lordship a copy of this most important document, which, with a wampum attached to it, was executed in duplicate, one copy remaining with me, the other being deposited with a chief selected by the various tribes for that purpose.

"The surrender of the Saugin territory has long been a desideratum in the province, and it is now especially important, as it will appear to be the first fruits of the political tranquillity which has been attained.

"I feel confident that the Indians, when settled by us in the manner

I have detailed, will be better off than they were; that the position they occupy can *bona fide* be fortified against the encroachments of the whites; while, on the other hand, *there can be no doubt, that the acquisition of their vast and fertile territory will be hailed with joy by the whole province.*"

The dispatch received the following reply from the secretary of state for the colonies. It is evident that the judgment and benevolence, both of the Minister, and our late Sovereign, were completely deluded by the representations which were thus made to them.

Lord Glenelg to Sir F. B. Head.

" Downing Street, 5 October, 1836.

" I have received your despatch of the 20th August last, No. 70, reporting an expedition you had made in person to the shores of the Lake Huron, and the arrangements into which you had there entered with the various tribes of Indians. Assured of the vigilant humanity by which your conduct towards this helpless race of men, the survivors of the ancient possessors and lords of the country, could not but be directed, and conscious of the incomparable superiority of your means of forming a correct judgment how their welfare could be most effectually consulted, I have thought myself not only at liberty, but obliged, in deference to your opinions, to recommend for his Majesty's sanction the arrangements and compacts into which you entered; and influenced by the same consideration, the king has been graciously pleased to approve of them. *His Majesty, however, directs me to commend these tribes, in the strongest possible terms, to your continued care, and to signify his express injunction, that no measure shall be contemplated which may not afford a reasonable prospect of rescuing this remnant of the aboriginal race from the calamitous fate which has so often befallen uncivilized man, where brought into immediate contact with the natives of Europe, or their descendants.* Whatever intelligence or suggestions it may be in your power to convey, respecting the condition of these people, and the prospect of their being reclaimed from the habits of savage life, and being enabled to share in the blessings of Christian knowledge and social improvement, will at all times be received by his Majesty with the highest interest."

The extreme unfairness and injustice of the contract are so very palpable that they require no comment; but as the despatches of Sir F. B. Head are calculated to give an erroneous impression respecting the character of the Indians, and their readiness to become parties to his measures, and as they are likely to discourage attempts at conversion and civilization, it seems important to give extracts from the counter statements, which have been made and published in Canada by two highly respectable witnesses.

Extract of a Letter to Lord Glenelg, relative to Sir Francis Head's Despatches on the Affairs of the Indians.

"I have recently read Sir F. Head's despatches to your lordship on the affairs of the Indians. I claim, my lord, to know something of the habits and character of the 'red men' of this province, and the progress and effects of what Sir Francis sneeringly calls 'Christianizing and civilizing process' among them. I was the first stationed missionary at the river Credit, and was permitted to be the first instrument of introducing Christianity among the Lake Simcoe tribes of Indians. I have ate and slept in their wigwams; I have toiled day after day, and month after month, in instructing them in religion, horticulture, agriculture, domestic economy, &c.; have attentively, and with anxious solicitude, watched the progress of Christianity and civilization among them from the beginning. I believe I am individually as *disinterested* in their conversion as Sir Francis himself. I have had better opportunities of observation, though I cannot pretend to that acuteness which he arrogates to himself; and I do most unequivocally assure your lordship that every one of his statements (in the sense which he evidently wishes them to be understood) are *incorrect*, except his description of the Munedoolin Islands, in Lake Huron, and his admission of the nobleness of the Indian heart, and the injury he has sustained at the hands of the white man.

"I here make the broad assertion. The subject will be fully investigated at the approaching annual meeting of our ministers, and the result will be transmitted to your lordship. It is also probable, that petitions will be addressed to the House of Assembly at its next session, praying for a parliamentary investigation of the whole question. I humbly hope that your lordship will therefore suspend your judgment upon these most extraordinary of all state documents, until the *truth*, and the *whole* truth, shall have been stated.

"In the mean time, as specimens, to apprize your lordship on one or two all-important points, I will just refer to Sir Francis's statement, *that the Indians readily consented to surrender the Saugeeng territory, and to remove to the Munedoolin Islands.*

"I can now state, upon the authority of the Rev. Mr. Stinson, (agent of the Wesleyan Missionary Committee, in London, and one of the Methodist missionaries to whom Sir Francis refers, as being present on the occasion,) that the facts of Sir Francis's negociations with the Saugeeng Indians on those subjects, are substantially and in brief as follow:—Sir Francis wished the Indians to surrender the whole of that territory to him; they declined; he endeavoured to persuade them, and even threatened them, by telling them that he could not keep the white people from taking possession of their land; that they (the Indians) had no right to it only as a hunting-ground, &c. But the Indians were inflexible. They told him they could not live on the Munedoolin Islands, that they would not go

there, that they wanted lands they could call their own, and live like the white people, and have their children taught to read. The council of the Saugeeng Islands separated. About an hour or two after, Sir Francis called them together again, renewed his proposals, persuasions, and threats. The Indians refused. Sir Francis *then* proposed, that if they would surrender to him the territory adjoining the Canada Company's Huron tract, he would secure to them and their children the territory, north of Owen's Sound, (which your lordship will find mentioned in his agreement with them,) and build them houses on it from the proceeds of the sales of the territory adjoining the Canada Company's land. (The territory north of Owen's Sound is from fifty to sixty miles in extent; contains much excellent land, and is skirted with good fisheries.) To *this* proposal, I am informed, the poor Indians did readily accede, with tears in their eyes: their hopes revived, and their countenances beamed with joy. This was what they wanted—land secured to them, from which they could not be removed, where they could have help to build houses and settle their families, and where they could at length rest their bones.

"Such was the substance of what transpired between Sir F. Head and the Saugeeng Indians; from which your lordship will perceive that they entirely refused Sir Francis's *first* proposal; that they never did, and do not now intend to remove to the Munedoolin Islands any more than Sir Francis himself intends to remove there, and that they surrendered to him a part of their territory with a view of getting the other part secured to them, and assistance to settle on it. Such is the understanding, and intention, and expectation of the Saugeeng Indians to this day.

"I will notice but one other point in Sir Francis's statements. He represents to your lordship that great *mortality* attends the civilization of the Indians. It is admitted, that Christianity does not impart to the Indian a *new body*, although it implants within him a *new heart;* and therefore, constitutions impaired by intemperance, vice, and exposure, may become a prey to consumption and other diseases, after the Christian conversion and reformation of the Indians, as well as before. But is this mortality *increased* or *lessened* by the 'Christianizing and civilizing process?' I will take the oldest Indian mission we have as an example, and the one the most unfavourably situated, according to Sir Francis's theory,—the River Credit mission, a mission within sixteen miles of Toronto, surrounded by a white population, embracing a tract of only 3000 acres of land; the Indian owners of which were drunkards to a man, woman, and child, with one, and only one (female) exception. When I entered upon this mission, in 1827, there were 210 souls in the tribe, most of whom had been converted some months before, at the Grand River; now there are 245. Some have removed to the village from other places, others have removed to other places from this mission. I am unable to say which class of removals are the most numerous. The council of the whole tribe

was called a few days since, in order to ascertain the comparative number of deaths during the last ten years, and during the ten years previous to their conversion. The deaths in every family during these two periods were ascertained as accurately as the memories of the older branches of each family would permit. The old chief stated the result as nearly as he could learn, that during the ten years immediately preceding their conversion, there were 300 deaths in his tribe; during the last ten years there had been from 50 to 60. This difference in the number of deaths during each of these two periods, the old chief feelingly ascribed to their becoming Christians. He said the Indians used to get drunk, some of them would fall into the fire and get burnt to death, some would freeze to death, some would starve to death, some would get killed in fighting with each other, some would die of consumption, from exposure to the heat and cold; many of the children would die of neglect, for want of food, and from the cold. Previous to the conversion of this tribe, they did not cultivate an acre of land; since their conversion, they have cleared from the forest, brought under cultivation and enclosed 820 acres of land; have grown the last year nearly 900 bushels of wheat and corn, nearly 1100 bushels of potatoes; 84 tons of hay, besides garden vegetables of various descriptions, They have 63 head of horn cattle, 110 pigs, 10 horses, 2 saw-mills, 200 shares in the Credit Harbour Company, have built several barns, and 20 houses, since the building of the first twenty houses for them by Sir John Colborne, and more acres of land are sown for the next season than they have ever had before."

Remarks on the late Surrender of the Saugeeng Territory, and the general treatment of the Christian Indians, under the administration of Sir F. B. Head, Bart. K.C.H. &c. &c. &c., Lieut. Governor of Upper Canada.

"My three preceding numbers were principally confined to the circumstances connected with the surrender of the Saugeeng territory; this will be more general in its character, and present facts which, however widely they may be at variance with the officially communicated opinions of Sir F. B. Head, are strictly true,—not being founded on mere supposition, hasty observation, or doubtful authority.

"It is due, however, to Sir F. B. Head to state, that the 'Indian settlement' from which I write, is *one* of those 'one or two trifling exceptions' which escaped the observation of his Excellency, when on his inspectorial tour of the province. It is therefore to be regretted, that he had not availed himself of an opportunity to give us a call before he made up so hasty, and, as I submit, so incorrect a judgment.

"The attempt to make farmers of the red men has not, as it respects this settlement, been a 'complete failure;' as the following facts may testify.

"Not quite four years have elapsed since the first in this tribe re-

nounced 'the errors of a pagan's creed.' Little had been accomplished previous to this, either by our 'friendship' or our 'philanthropy.' The 'simple virtues' of the red men shone forth in all their native lustre; and while drunkenness, and murder, and adultery, and every evil work abounded, one, who could with stoical vanity have declared himself 'disinterested in their conversion,' might have exclaimed with Sir F. B. Head, 'We have only to bear patiently with them for a short time, and with a few exceptions, principally half castes, their unhappy race, beyond the power of redemption, will be extinct.' Since that period, two hundred and fifty have been admitted by baptism into the Christian church. Of these one hundred and seventy-seven were adults. After deducting deaths, removals, &c., we have at present one hundred and sixty-one members of society. It may be here remarked, that many who have in this frontier station embraced the Christian faith are those who, although during the last war they bore arms under the British flag, have since that period generally remained in the State of Michigan, so that the houses which were erected under the direction of Sir John Colborne, the Indians' friend, (whose administration will be long remembered by the red man, but with very different feelings from those with which they contemplate that of Sir Francis,) were only sixteen in number; and when the number of families is compared with the improvement made, the public will be able to determine whether we ought to give up in despair our efforts to make the Aborigines an agricultural people.

"There have been cleared, and were under fence last season, not less than one hundred and forty acres of land which was heavily wooded. The rails were split, drawn, and laid up into fence by the Indians, with very little, if any, assistance or instruction from white men. And although the season was unfavourable to their corn and potatoe crops, and the late disturbances prevented them from providing, as they otherwise might have done, yet there are some who have Indian corn and potatoes on hand to supply their families; and they consequently consider themselves better off than they would have been in their former 'simple-minded' state, when living on the 'berries on which those Indians feed,' who 'have been in the habit of living in their canoes,' among the 'granite islands' of Lake Huron, or 'further to the North and West.' They are fully persuaded that their present location is preferable, inasmuch as it affords fishing, hunting, bird-shooting, and fruit, and also excellent corn, potatoes, oats and vegetables in abundance. The Indians own several black cattle and twelve horses. One of them killed five good hogs last autumn, and some others one or more each. Several barrels of fish, which were packed last autumn, have been sold to the merchants and others during the winter. Some who, when they became Christians, were from one to two hundred dollars in debt, now 'owe no man;' while their clean and decent appearance, and their sober conduct, declare most emphatically that our friendship and philanthropy have not altogether failed.

"Whether 'congregating the Indians in villages of substantial

log-houses' may be considered a 'lovely or beautiful theory, or whether what Sir F. B. Head declares to be an 'undeniable fact,' to which he so '*unhesitatingly*' adds his 'humble testimony, that as soon as the hunting season commences the men perish, or rather rot in numbers by consumption,' and that Christianity 'has more than decimated its followers!' may be determined by a perusal of the following statement of the number of deaths which took place respectively during the four years preceding, and about the same period since, the introduction of Christianity among this tribe.

Number of Deaths during four years previous to embracing Christianity.

Natural deaths, hastened in most cases by drunkenness and other vices	12
Died drunk	9
Killed by being stabbed, bruised, or otherwise injured by their associates, and in several instances by their own relations, in drunken quarrels	14
Burned to death by falling in the fire when drunk	2
Drowned when drunk	2
Poisoned by the Conjurors or Meedai, (persons frequently employed by the Pagans to avenge real or supposed injuries)	4
Insane through continued drunkenness, and eaten by wolves	1
Killed by accident when drunk	1
Killed by accident when sober	1
Died in childhood	1
Total	47

Number of Deaths since embracing Christianity.

Natural deaths	3
Total	3

"In preparing this statement, I have been careful to obtain the name of every individual; and should the almost incredible contrast lead any one to question its correctness, I can furnish a list with the names of the persons, and the places where the deaths occurred. With this statement before him, no person would doubt the truth of Sir F. B. Head's assertion, had it been applied to the *pagan* Indians, that they 'wither, droop, and vanish before us, like the grass of the forest in flames.' But who can for one moment acquiesce in the opinion of the same personage when he publishes in the ear of the noble secretary of state for the colonies, that '*civilization*, producing deaths by consumption, has more than decimated its followers.'"

Lord Glenelg having received these explanations, and being personally applied to by Peter Jones, John Sunday, and Robert Alder, the secretary of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, as well as by deputations from the Aborigines' Protection Society, and the Meeting for Sufferings, addressed a despatch on the subject to the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir George Arthur, in which he directed that some por-

tions of land should be secured to the Indians, "that an assurance should be conveyed to them, in the most formal and solemn manner, that her Majesty's Government will protect their interests and respect their rights in regard to the land on which they are settled." It has been shown in the early part of this pamphlet, that the just and humane instructions of that benevolent minister have not been carried into operation, and that irremediable evils are advancing under favour of this delay. It is to be feared that a bias in favour of the removal of the Indians still exists, both in the British Government in the United States, in consequence of the artfully inculcated doctrine, that they will be happier and safer when separated from the settlements of the whites. Friends, at least, may be aware of this fallacy when they remember how repeatedly the best hopes, encouraged by the progress of Indian improvement under the care of their brethren in America, have been damped, by the reiterated removals of these infant settlements. By these removals the Indians are placed beyond the reach and influence of their friends. Deprived of assistance and advice, they become the easy prey of the most unprincipled of the whites. A gentleman, long personally acquainted with the fur-trade, and who has penetrated into almost every habitable territory between the British settlements and the Pacific Ocean, asserts that there are no tribes nor spots which the white traders do not reach. There is, besides, much weight in the following remark, which is contained in a very recent expostulatory address of an enlightened and educated Indian, printed and published by Friends in Philadelphia.

"But there is one condition of a removal which must certainly render it hazardous in the extreme to us. The proximity of our then situation to that of other and more warlike tribes, will expose us to constant harassing by them; and not only this, but the character of those worse than Indians, those white borderers who infest, yes, infest the western border of the white population, will annoy us more fatally than even the Indians themselves. Surrounded thus by the natives of the soil, and hunted by such a class of whites, who neither fear God nor regard man, how shall we be better off then than we are now?"

The committee of the Meeting for Sufferings, charged with the case of the Aborigines, refers Friends for further information to the publications of the Aborigines Protection Society; and, in conclusion, would earnestly press the subject on the close attention of their fellow-members throughout the country; and as the present is a very critical period as respects the future existence of the Indian race, they would repeat the invitation to aid the cause by numerous and urgent petitions in their favour.

THE END.

J. Rickerby, Printer, Sherbourn Lane.

THE REPORT

OF THE

ABORIGINES' COMMITTEE

OF THE

MEETING FOR SUFFERINGS,

READ AT THE YEARLY MEETING 1840:

WITH THE

ADDRESS TO LORD JOHN RUSSELL,

ON HIS BECOMING SECRETARY FOR THE COLONIES;

THAT TO FRIENDS SETTLING IN NEW COLONIES;

AND SOME PARTICULARS CALCULATED TO GIVE INFORMATION,
AND PROMOTE INTEREST RESPECTING THE

PRESENT STATE OF ABORIGINAL TRIBES.

Published by Direction of the Meeting for Sufferings.

LONDON:

HARVEY AND DARTON, GRACECHURCH STREET.

1840.

[Tract Relative to the Aborigines, No. 5.]

THE FOLLOWING TRACTS
ARE PUBLISHED BY THE MEETING FOR SUFFERINGS,

Price 3d. each.

No. 1.—INFORMATION RESPECTING THE ABORIGINES IN THE BRITISH COLONIES.

No. 2.—EFFECTS OF THE INTRODUCTION OF ARDENT SPIRITS AND IMPLEMENTS OF WAR AMONGST THE NATIVES OF THE SOUTH-SEA ISLANDS AND NEW SOUTH WALES.

No. 3.—FURTHER INFORMATION RESPECTING THE ABORIGINES; containing Extracts from the Proceedings of the Meeting for Sufferings in London, and of the Committees on Indian Affairs; of the Yearly Meetings of Philadelphia and Baltimore; together with some particulars relative to the Seminole War.

No. 4.—FACTS RELATIVE TO THE CANADIAN INDIANS.

REPORT

OF THE

ABORIGINES' COMMITTEE

OF THE

MEETING FOR SUFFERINGS.

THE ABORIGINES' COMMITTEE of the MEETING FOR SUFFERINGS has continued to have its attention directed to the subjects referred to its care, and has received sufficient information respecting the state of the Aborigines of various parts of the globe, to make it evident that there is increasing rather than diminished occasion for the persevering exertions both of the Members of our own religious Society and of others.

The Committee has however experienced considerable difficulty in obtaining such a continued supply of authentic and recent particulars as is essentially necessary to enable it materially to advance the cause in which it has been engaged, by the diffusion of interesting information.

With a hope of, in some degree, removing this difficulty, Friends in Canada have been addressed officially from the Committee, and by individual Members; but the replies, though long expected, have not as yet come to hand.

A letter has been addressed to our friend James Backhouse, since his arrival at the Cape, proposing to him various subjects of enquiry, by which it is hoped that some valuable information will be obtained, in addition to the interesting particulars respecting the native tribes contained in his letters and journal, which either have been, or will be, laid before the Society independently of this Committee.

Before proceeding to offer a brief statement of what the Committee has endeavoured to do with such information as it has actually received, it may not be amiss to state, that it appears by a recent and very moderate estimate, that the Aborigines who may be termed British amount to one million in Australia—one million in the South Seas, including New Zealand—half a million still surviving in the British possessions in North America and British Guiana—and two millions in Western and Southern Africa; with several millions of

the barbarous tribes in British India and its borders, and of the Eastern Archipelago and Indian Ocean. It is supposed that there are about sixteen millions of American Aborigines whose position and relations connect them with other nations rather than with Britain. The uncivilized Aborigines of Africa not included in those already mentioned, are estimated at sixty millions, and a much larger number are supposed to belong to the same class in Asia. With scarcely any exception these Aborigines, as groups, have either already most seriously suffered in property, life, and morals by their intercourse with those who style themselves Christians, or are in imminent danger from the hastened approach of this lamentable influence.

Respecting our fellow-subjects, the Indians of Canada, there is some reason to hope that the reiterated remonstrances of Friends, conjointly with those of the Wesleyan Methodists and of the Aborigines' Protection Society, may have had some influence in obtaining quiet possession of a portion of country for some Indians of the Chippeway tribe, who have embraced Christianity and adopted agricultural habits and other advantages of civilization.

There is however continued reason to fear that the force of the treaty of the late Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Francis Bond Head, is still in existence, which is the more to be regretted, as the Indian territories to the west of the British settlements are sought as an asylum by the United States Indians, with the sanction of those tribes which recognize the British authority.

The reports of the Indian Committees of Friends in America will be laid before the Yearly Meeting independently of this Committee; it will therefore here be sufficient to remark that Friends have lent their assistance to the Indians of Buffalo in their endeavours to resist the fraudulent efforts of the land speculators, who are anxious to effect their removal; and that Friends of the yearly meeting of Pennsylvania were actively remonstrating against the use of bloodhounds engaged by the American Government for the extirpation of the Seminole Indians.

The attention of the Committee has been called to the condition of the Indians of British Guiana, by the affecting information communicated by two recent and most respectable travellers, John Scoble and R. H. Schomburgk.

It appears that under favour of the uncertainty which at present exists as to the boundary on the Brazilian side, the Indians are liable to be murdered or kidnapped as slaves, whenever they congregate for the purpose of forming settlements. By this means some very gratifying advances towards civilization, in conjunction with conversion to Christianity, have been completely foreclosed.

Letters from highly respectable residents in the Cape Colony have announced the peaceable and improving condition of the Caffre tribes under the influence of the new system laid down by the late Colonial Secretary, Lord Glenelg, and carried out by the late Lieutenant-Governor, Captain Stockenstrom. But these encouraging prospects have been clouded by the removal of Sir A. Stockenstrom

from office, an event which is deeply to be regretted as a serious loss to the cause of the Aborigines of South Africa.

The interests and even the existence of large bodies of African Aborigines continue to be threatened by the incursions of increasing bands of Boors, who disclaiming the authority of Britain, and disregarding the attempts of the Government to reduce them to order, do not cease to carry aggression and death amongst the Zoolah tribes in the neighbourhood of Port Natal. An interesting but affecting account of some of these transactions has been communicated by our friend Richard Dykes Alexander, of Ipswich, in a letter received by himself from a serious character who had resided amongst the natives as a teacher.

Some members of our Society residing in Adelaide have communicated to members of the Committee particulars respecting the natives in that part of Australia, from which it appears that kind and benevolent dispositions are entertained towards them on the part of the Governor and of many of the colonists; but the printed documents which have likewise been received from that quarter lamentably exhibit the inadequacy of the institution of Protectorships, and the fatal want of a regular system, by which the rights of the natives may be secured, their lives preserved, and their condition improved.

The Committee has not lost sight of the important operations now in progress in New Zealand, in which the interests of the Aborigines of those islands are seriously involved; but it has not seen its way to take any particular steps with reference to them.

On the occasion of Lord John Russell taking the office of Colonial Secretary, the Committee was induced to believe that a favourable opportunity was offered for calling his attention to the present interests and exigencies of the Aborigines of our colonies, and suggested to the Meeting for Sufferings the propriety of presenting him with an address prepared for the occasion. This, with some modification, was adopted; and the Friends who composed the Deputation to deliver it, availed themselves of the opportunity to press upon that Minister's attention the urgent claims of some classes of Aborigines, and more particularly of those of South Africa and Canada.

It appeared to the Committee that the address to Friends who may be about to emigrate from this country, which was issued at the last yearly meeting, did not include advice expressly relating to the treatment of the Aborigines, and it thought it right to suggest to the Meeting for Sufferings the issuing of an additional document expressly relating to this subject, which was accordingly done.

Since this minute was issued, Government has, in the formation of a Colonial Land Board, adopted an important measure, which promises to encourage and systematize the emigration of our countrymen and to give rise to enterprises, in which it is probable that members of our Society may be induced to take a part. Those who look with interest at the prospects of the Aborigines, cannot but see in the measure alluded to an event which must very materially affect them for good or for evil. It may expedite the already advancing work of

their extermination, or it may be made the means of checking existing abuses, and contribute in some degree to redress past wrongs and bestow some compensating blessings.

Signed on behalf of the Committee,

THOMAS HODGKIN.

Devonshire House Meeting House,
11, 5 *mo.* 1840.

A Memorial from a Meeting representing the Religious Society of Friends in Great Britain.

To Lord John Russell, Principal Secretary of State for the Colonial Department.

We feel it to be our duty on the occasion of thy entering upon the office of Secretary of State for the Colonies, to address thee on behalf of the Aborigines who are still residing within the limits of the British Settlements, or who, by inhabiting the adjoining districts, are brought into contact with the Colonial subjects of Great Britain. These Aborigines, who at the lowest computation still amount to several millions of human beings, have everywhere been fearfully reduced in number, as well as injured in their persons and property by their intercourse with our fellow-subjects. Though these evils have been advancing through a long course of years, they have recently acquired a prodigious increase in extent, as well as in destructive influence, in consequence of the extraordinary impulse which has been given to emigration and distant commercial enterprise.

Almost from the very commencement of British colonization to the present time, official documents have occasionally been put forth which have evinced a good feeling towards the Aborigines, and that a desire to protect them existed in the minds of our rulers; yet if these edicts have been abortive (which it is to be feared in almost every instance has been the case), the result is not to be ascribed to the impossibility of protecting and elevating weak and uncivilised nations, but it appears to have been a necessary consequence of the defect of measures to ensure their rights, and of the inefficient means employed to guide and regulate the enterprises of civilised men.

We feel assured that the sufferings and claims of the Aborigines, to whom British intercourse has been a fearful calamity, when it might have been a blessing, will not be lost sight of by Lord John Russell; —yet we cannot refrain from expressing our anxious wish, that amidst the very numerous and important demands which are made upon thy time and attention, the redress of the wrongs of this suffering class may not be deferred; and more especially that certain measures, essential to the success of exertions in their favour, whether made by individuals, or by societies, or by the Aborigines themselves, may be promptly passed and brought into effectual operation.

We here allude to the recognition and security of their title to some portion of the territories once wholly theirs;—to the *bonâ fide* admission of their evidence in courts of law;—to the recognition of their right as men and citizens to a full participation in all the privileges of British subjects, so that the distinctions of colour and race may no longer operate against them, and that effectual steps may be taken both at home and in the colonies to effect their elevation in a moral, intellectual, and political point of view.

We not only regard these points as essential to the success of all other plans, general or particular, which may be devised for the welfare of such Aborigines as may be connected with the British Empire, but we believe that the concession of them would in some sort become the *Magna Charta* of the coloured races generally, in the benefits of which the slaves of other countries, and the Aborigines in parts of the globe not immediately connected with Great Britain, would eventually participate.

We would here also take the liberty to advert to the pernicious consequences of the introduction amongst the Aborigines of firearms and ardent spirits, which are often used as articles of barter; and although sensible that it may be difficult effectually to exclude them, yet we earnestly entreat the Government to use their influence in every suitable way in protecting the poor uncivilized Aborigines from the operation of these most destructive and demoralizing agents.

Whilst we desire earnestly yet respectfully to press these points of general application on thy attention, we cannot neglect the present opportunity of more particularly pleading with thee in favour of some Aborigines who, by their special claims on this country, or by the emergency of the circumstances in which they are actually placed, seem entitled to the earliest interposition of the Government;—such are the Indians of Canada, whom the policy and treaty of the late Lieutenant-Governor, Sir F. B. Head, are still depriving of their land and sending into the Western Forests, and even into the territories of the United States; such are the Caffres and Zoolahs, who have been deprived of their country and cattle, and slain by thousands, in consequence of the unchecked aggressions of the emigrant Boors; and such are the natives of New Holland, who notwithstanding the expressions of just and humane views which mark the first report of the South Australian Commissioners, are deprived of their lands and means of subsistence without treaty, payment, or compensation. Nor can we omit to mention the numerous groups of interesting islanders, from New Zealand to Hawai, who are suffering in various ways from the cupidity and oppression of our countrymen.

Above all would we express our conviction, that were the conduct of individuals and of Governments towards those over whom, in the ordering of Divine Providence, their influence may extend, guided by the Gospel rule of doing unto others as we would that they should do unto us, the evils which we now deplore would cease, and mutual confidence, prosperity, and happiness take the place of mistrust, cruelty, bloodshed, and extermination.

Whilst it is our cordial and fervent desire that thou mayest, through the help of Heavenly wisdom, be enabled to exert thy talents and employ the powers which thy high station places under thy control to the effectual redress of the wrongs which have engaged our sympathy, we desire that thy labours may, through the blessing of the Most High, be rewarded by that satisfaction and peace which cannot fail to attend sincere and Christian efforts to promote the present and lasting happiness of our fellow-men.

Signed in and on behalf of the Meeting by

GEO. STACEY.

The following Minute referred to in the Report of the Committee, was produced and read at the Yearly Meeting, and received its sanction and adoption: —

The case of Members of our Society who may be contemplating emigration to distant colonies has been brought under the notice of this Meeting; and we think it right to remind our dear friends who may be so circumstanced, how much the steps they take may affect, not merely the interests of humanity, but moral and Christian principle.

We would entreat those who may establish themselves in newly-settled countries to reflect upon the responsibility which attaches to them when they are the neighbours of uncivilized and heathen tribes. It is an awful but indisputable fact, that most settlements of this description, besides dispossessing the natives of their land without equivalent, have hitherto been productive of incalculable injury to the moral and physical condition of the native races, which have been thereby more or less reduced in numbers, and in some instances completely exterminated. Earnestly, therefore, do we desire that all those under our name who may emigrate to such settlements, may be careful neither directly nor indirectly to inflict injury upon the natives, but that they may, on the contrary, in their whole conduct, exhibit the practical character of that religion which breathes "Glory to God in the highest, on earth peace, good-will toward men." As this is their aim, they will not only exert themselves to check the evils which are but too generally inflicted by the Whites upon their feebler neighbours, but will be solicitous to do their part in endeavouring to diffuse amongst them the blessings of civilization and Christianity, which will prove the best means of preventing their extermination, and of raising them to the full enjoyment of their rights.

As the non-existence of any title to the land which the natives inhabit is strongly insisted upon by really conscientious persons, some facts and observations connected with the subject may not be improperly subjoined to the preceding address.

The occupancy of the land by aboriginal tribes appears to imply a possession on their part, the proofs of the invalidity of which seem to be required of those who directly or indirectly take it from them.

The natives consider themselves the real owners of the soil; and even in South Australia, where their condition is the most abject, and the want of civilization the most complete, the more intelligent often assert that the land belongs to the black men. It is stated in a letter from a settler in that colony that "the natives are timid, and peaceable towards us (the colonists), fearful of our firearms, and quiet from fear of us, for they want not courage in defending their own district from the incursions of the other aboriginal tribes with invincible courage." The numerous treaties which have been made by individuals, by companies, and even by Government for the purchase of the lands of native tribes, even when they have been of a nomadic character, seems to concede the fact of proprietorship, although the mode of obtaining the transfer and the amount of the value given in exchange may not bear investigation. With the North American Indians treaties of this description have been too long and too often practised to require more than bare allusion in this place. The following extract from the Journal of James Backhouse may be adduced as one, amongst many facts, to show that the same reasoning may be applied to the more abject inhabitants of New Holland, whose land has, for the most part, been unconditionally taken from them. The incident took place on the occasion of the purchase of 500,000 acres in the neighbourhood of Port Philip. "A fine athletic fellow, the chief of the tribe, after being made acquainted with his (the agent's) wish to purchase land, and his means to pay for it, proceeded with him and his party, accompanied with his tribe, to measure it off. At each corner boundary the chief marked a tree and tatooed it, and at the same time explained to his tribe the nature of his treaty, and the positive necessity on their part to observe it inviolable." The South Australian Commissioners in their first Report appear most fully to recognize the rights of the natives, and are most decided in the terms in which they avow the intention of respecting those rights—of protecting the natives from cruelty and injustice in their intercourse with Europeans,—of delivering them from the evils of squatters, runaway convicts, and deserters from vessels,—and their desire to promote amongst them the spread of civilisation, and the peaceful and voluntary reception of the Christian religion. With the exception of recommending the natives to the attention of the humane Governors who have been sent to that colony, and the appointment of a Protector, who, had he possessed the rare talents requisite to render his office availing, was not supplied with the scarcely less needful means, little or nothing has been done. Notwithstanding the good intention of many of the settlers, who have been of a remarkably respectable class, and have paid considerable attention both collectively and individually to the state of the natives, it is much to be feared that their condition has more rapidly deteriorated under regulated emigration than it could have done even under the old evils of squatters, runaway convicts, and deserters. It is certain that many colonists are sensible of the injus-

tice which is done to the natives. One of their complaints is that the resident Commissioner is not instructed to make any reserve for them when the public lands are disposed of. A settler has even paid to the Protector a sum, which he was uneasy to retain, feeling it due to the natives. Yet another colonist confesses, "We have been following our different avocations, in a great measure regardless of the state of the black population, until a short time since we were thrown into a state of alarm, in consequence of our position in regard to those neglected beings becoming each day more critical." It must be borne in mind, that besides the tracts of land actually sold, a much more considerable extent is conceded for pasture; and the flocks and herds introduced by the settlers and fed at large, under the direction of armed stock-keepers, become a further means of removing the game on which the natives have depended. These exotic animals, roaming at large, in a manner not easily to be distinguished by the natives from that of the wild animals which they have supplanted, must offer to the starving and untutored Aborigines a strong temptation to kill and eat. These considerations not merely account for, but afford some palliation of the instances of aggression by which the settlers have been annoyed.

The question concerning the rights of the Aborigines is one of vital importance to them, in disregard of which all recommendations on the part of the Government, and individual acts of kindness on the part of colonists, must be of comparatively little avail. In relation to this subject, the following letter from a Gentleman intimately acquainted with New Holland is deserving of special attention.

"*Liverpool, 15th November,* 1839.

"My dear Friend,—In reply to the question which you proposed to me some time ago, in the course of conversation in London, and of which you have reminded me in the letter I had the pleasure of receiving from you yesterday, with the pamphlets and letters for America, viz. 'Whether the Aborigines of the Australian continent have any idea of property in land,' I beg to answer most decidedly in the affirmative. It is well known that these Aborigines in no instance cultivate the soil, but subsist entirely by hunting and fishing, and on the wild roots they find in certain localities (especially the common fern), with occasionally a little wild honey, indigenous fruits being exceedingly rare. The whole race is divided into tribes, more or less numerous according to circumstances, and designated from the localities they inhabit; for although universally a wandering race, with respect to places of habitation, their wanderings are circumscribed by certain well-defined limits, beyond which they seldom pass, except for purposes of war or of festivity. In short, every tribe has its own district, the boundaries of which are well known to the natives generally; and within that district all the wild animals are considered as much the property of the tribe inhabiting, or rather ranging on, its whole extent, as the flocks of sheep and herds of cattle that have been introduced into the country by adventurous Europeans, are held by European law and usage the

property of their respective owners. In fact, as the country is occupied chiefly for pastoral purposes, the difference between the Aboriginal and the European ideas of property in the soil is more imaginary than real, the native grass affording subsistence to the kangaroos of the natives as well as to the wild cattle of the Europeans; and the only difference indeed being, that the former are not branded with a particular mark like the latter, and are somewhat wilder and more difficult to catch. Nay, as the European regards the intrusion of any other white man upon the *cattle-run*, of which European law and usage have made him the possessor, and gets it punished as a trespass, the Aborigines of the particular tribe inhabiting a particular district, regard the intrusion of any other tribe of Aborigines upon that district, for the purposes of kangaroo hunting, &c., as an intrusion, to be resisted and punished by force of arms. In short, this is the frequent cause of Aboriginal, as it is of European wars; man, in his natural state, being very much alike in all conditions—jealous of his rights and exceedingly pugnacious. It is true, the European intruders pay no respect to these Aboriginal divisions of the territory, the black native being often hunted off his own ground, or destroyed by European violence, dissipation, or disease, just as his kangaroos are driven off that ground by the European's black cattle; but this surely does not alter the case as to the right of the Aborigines.

"But particular districts are not merely the property of particular tribes; particular sections or portions of these districts are universally recognised by the natives as the property of individual members of these tribes: and when the owner of such a section or portion of territory (as I ascertained was the case at King George's Island) has determined on burning off the grass on his land, which is done for the double purpose of enabling the natives to take the older animals more easily, and to provide a new crop of sweeter grass for the rising generation of the forest, not only all the other individuals of his own tribe, but whole tribes from other-districts, are invited to the hunting party and the feast and dance, or corrobory, that ensue; the wild animals on the ground being all considered the property of the owner of the land. I have often heard natives myself tell me, in answer to my own questions on the subject, who were the Aboriginal owners of particular tracts of land now held by Europeans; and indeed this idea of property in the soil, *for hunting purposes*, is universal among the Aborigines. They seldom complain of the intrusion of Europeans; on the contrary, they are pleased at their *sitting down*, as they call it, on their land: they do not perceive that their own circumstances are thereby sadly altered for the worse in most cases; that their means of subsistence are gradually more and more limited, and their numbers rapidly diminished; in short, in the simplicity of their hearts, they take the frozen adder into their bosom, and it stings them to death. They look for a benefit or blessing from European intercourse, and it becomes their ruin.

"If I had had a little more leisure I would have written more at length, and in a style more worthy of your perusal; but you may

take it as certain, at all events, that the Aborigines of Australia *have* an idea of property in the soil in their native and original state, and that that idea is, in reality, not very different from that of the European proprietors of sheep and cattle, by whom they have, in so many instances, been dispossessed without the slightest consideration of their rights or feelings.

"Indeed, the infinity of the native names of places, all of which are descriptive and appropriate, is of itself a *prima facie* evidence of their having strong ideas of property in the soil; for it is only where such ideas are entertained and acted on, that we find, as is certainly the case in Australia, *Nullum sine nomine saxum.*

"I am, my dear Friend,

"Yours very sincerely,

"*To Dr. Hodgkin.*" "JOHN DUNMORE LANG."

If the statements contained in the foregoing letter, and facts of a similar character which might be adduced from Ceylon and elsewhere, be admitted as proofs of real ownership on the part of Aboriginal tribes, very serious considerations ought to suggest themselves to all conscientious individuals, who either as colonists, or shareholders in colonizing Companies, may become either directly or indirectly concerned in forcible or unfair invasion those rights.

Canadian Indians.

From the latest information which the Committee has received respecting the Indians of Canada, it appears that the removal of the tribes contemplated by the treaty of Sir Francis Bond Head, is for the present at least suspended, and it is to be hoped that the policy of the present Lieutenant-Governor will provide for their secure and permanent residence for the future. It is stated that some thousand Indians emigrating from the United States are seeking a new home within our frontiers, where it is to be hoped that they will find that justice and kindness which Christianity dictates, and which alone can make their arrival a beneficial change to themselves, or an addition of useful and peaceable subjects to the British Colonies.

United States Indians.

In a former pamphlet published by the Meeting for Sufferings, some account was given of the means employed by a land company in the United States to effect the removal of the Seneca Indians residing in the neighbourhood of Buffaloe, in opposition to the strongly expressed desire of a large majority of the tribe. Through the exertions of Friends and others, a Committee of the Senate was appointed to investigate the subject. In a long and able speech, in which a member of that Committee makes report to the Senate, he sets forth an authentic history of the whole transaction, and distinctly states that he founds it upon official and published documents. He

expressly says: "I have not relied upon Indian statements and affidavits, because such testimony, however unjustly, in some instances might be cavilled at, nor have I relied for anything I have said, upon the written statements of the Quakers, who are viewed by some gentlemen as officious intruders and intermeddlers in this affair; not because I do not consider their statements as entitled to the fullest belief, but because I have not found such reliance necessary." The speaker exposes much of the transaction, which shows that not the Indians only, but the American government has been imposed on by the land speculators and their party. He shows that sixty out of eighty-one of the chiefs protested against the pretended treaty, and that fourteen-fifteenths of the whole tribe were decidedly opposed to the removals. With this report of the Committee before them, the Senate were equally divided as to the ratification of the treaty, and it consequently rested with the President to decide the question, and he has done so in favour of the land speculators. A letter has been received by a Member of this Meeting from Charles Meatyard, of East Hamburgh, dated 17th of 5th month, which contains the following paragraph:

"Perhaps before this reaches you the fate of the Indians is known to you. The sham treaty for the removal of them to the West has been ratified by the Senate of the United States, which was equally divided on the question, but decided against the Indians by the casting vote of the President. They are to remove in five years."

Another Member of the Meeting has received a letter from Toronto, which contains the information that the Chippewa chief Hesh-ton-a-quet, some of whose letters have been presented to Friends, and whose reservations were partly in the United States and partly in the British possessions, is amongst the removed Indians, although his report of the Western lands, which he had visited, was decidedly unfavourable.

It is reported that a body of 5000 Indians has crossed from the United States, and sought refuge in Upper Canada. Many of them are said to have sufficient means for settling down comfortably.

Facts like this render it very important that the Friends of these abused and greatly injured people should, with promptitude and perseverance, employ every allowable and temperate means of influence in their favour with the British and Colonial Governments, and also with our Canadian fellow-subjects.

Notwithstanding the gloomy aspect which the state of the Aborigines almost everywhere presents, and the comparative indifference with regard to it which is manifested in this and other countries, it is gratifying to perceive the striking exceptions which are occasionally met with. The report of the Committee of the Senate of the United States is a remarkable instance of this kind. The following extract of a letter from H. Baldwin, jun., of the Rice Lake mission, may be adduced as furnishing another example, and the facts and sentiments which it contains will doubtless be read with interest:

"In No. 833 of the New York Observer (a weekly paper), dated

April 27, 1839, there is published a letter from Dr. Edwin James, a well-known agent to different tribes of Indians, interpreter and translator of the New Testament, to Dr. Leonard Dodge, the Corresponding Secretary of the recently formed American Aborigines' Protection Society. Dr. James was the interpreter who took down and published Tanner's Narrative of his Captivity, &c., probably the best description of Indian life that has yet appeared. In every respect his experience and observations are highly valuable. The following is an extract from the letter:

" 'It is with no ordinary degree of thankfulness that I hail this new omen of hope for the wasting and fading remnant of the native tribes of this continent. That the nations of Christendom have incurred a fearful amount of responsibility in their past and present intercourse with these tribes, none can doubt. It is equally certain that if any essential benefits are to be conferred upon them, the work must be done speedily. Too many of the good and benevolent among us are ready to say, "The Indians are a doomed race, and nothing can be done for them;" and with this chilling discouragement they permit the efforts of missionary and other kindred associations to be directed mainly to remote lands and foreign races; while the children of the true lords and proprietors of our own soil are vanishing before a combination of depressing and most fatal influences, which no race of unenlightened men could withstand. What these influences are,—how they operate,—how they may be counteracted,—how a falling people may be rescued from impending destruction, it is incumbent on us and our fellow-citizens to know. How shall this knowledge be obtained? How shall the appropriate remedy be applied? How shall the mighty energies of Christian benevolence be awakened in favour of this helpless and almost hopeless people? How, but by combined and systematic, persevering and prayerful efforts on the part of those who have opportunity to know and hearts to deplore the wrongs and injuries and oppressions of these feeble and unprotected tribes.'—I must here interpose a remark, that this oppression complained of, real indeed and heart-rending, has taken place in the United States—not to any great extent in Canada—until *Sir Francis Head contrived to cheat them, or half cheat half bully them out of their lands at Saugeen, to remove them* to settle on barren rocks, between whose interstices grew *berries*—good enough *feed* for those Indians! But to benefit the Indians of the United States territory, might exert an important influence on ours, I therefore consider every word of this letter to be entitled to our attention.—' How shall the *tax-paying* citizens of the *United States* be made acquainted with the fact, that the *annual three or four millions* of Indian expenditure which they pay, and pay cheerfully, because they believe it is to do good to the poor Indians, is, in the present state of things, much worse than thrown away? How shall the Missionary Societies, which still continue some efforts for the Indians, be made to see how their bounty is misapplied, and their kind intentions thwarted through sinister influences which may and should be removed? How shall these things be done, and the Anglo-

Americans be induced, or rather enabled, to act justly and mercifully towards the Aborigines but through the instrumentality of such an association as that of which you are the organ? Among the names affixed to the Constitution I perceive those of some who have been long and faithfully living as Missionaries, of others who have been for many years residents in the immediate vicinity of the Indians, and conversant in all their affairs, and who *have had ample opportunities to know why it is* that the Indians as a people cannot be benefited. Its formers have, I think, *wisely* made the American an Auxiliary to the British and Foreign Aborigines' Protection Society, and have thus *brought themselves into alliance with many of the excellent* of the earth, securing for their efforts the sympathies and prayers of many in Europe as well as in America who are truly the "*salt of the earth*" and the "lights of the world." Permit me, my dear Sir, to urge you, and through you the officers and members of your infant association, to strenuous and unremitting exertion and strong faith. *If our Heavenly Father be not willing that any should perish, and if our merciful Redeemer has commissioned all his followers* to act for him in furtherance of those benevolent designs in which his soul travailed, promising to be with them always even to the end of the world,—*how shall we doubt what our duty is, or fear our labours will not be blessed? Let our object be single.* To protect the Indians from the frauds, oppressions, injuries, and insults of more enlightened but unprincipled men, let us gather around and associate with us all who by knowledge of facts and honest intention are qualified to unite in our design; and strong in our reliance upon Him who wills the happiness of all his intelligent creatures, let us send forth the light, till every Christian in the United States shall know what obstacles hinder the fulfilment of his prayers for the conversion of the American Indians,—till all shall know why the profuse and noble generosity of the people of the States, exercised through their government, is a curse rather than a blessing to the Aborigines; in a word, till *all* shall understand why the "*doomed race*" *is hunted out like the game of their forests, while every mouth is filled with professions of good-will to them.* Be confident, dear Sir, that existing evils and abuses, which you and your associates so well understand and so deeply deplore, can and will be removed. The men are now living and the means are in existence through which the change should be wrought. In a spirit of candour and kindness enlighten and instruct that portion of the public who have not the means to know the state of things in the Indian country. Make known the necessity and practicability of a reform, and we may surely hope the people of the United States will provide the needed remedy.'"

The war with the Seminole Indians is still continued. The Americans have sent for bloodhounds from Cuba to hunt them like wild beasts. The Indians, on the other hand, are said to have attacked an island by night and killed the inhabitants, without regard to age or sex. It is to be hoped that our brethren on the other side of the Atlantic will exert all the influence which they may possess in favour of a peace which might yet rescue those Indians from extermination,

and prepare the way for their participation in the blessings of civilization and Christianity, whilst it would in all probability be the means of saving the lives of many helpless and innocent persons whom it will assuredly be better to protect than to avenge.

Texas.

The citizens of the new republic of Texas are not less remarkable for their determined and revolting attachment to slavery than for their persevering destruction of the Aboriginal tribes whose territories they are appropriating; and accounts are received that they are rapidly organizing a militia throughout the republic for this purpose. A considerable number of Indians, invited with the semblance of peace, have been attacked and killed or made prisoners.

From the "Times," 27, 8 mo. 1840.

"The latest Texan papers detail an act of brutal treachery towards a party of Cumanchee Indians, by a detachment of Texan troops, under the Secretary of War, W. G. Cooke. A body of the Cumanchees, about sixty-five in number, arrived at San Antonio on the 16th of March with a Miss Lockhart, a little girl, captured from another tribe about eighteen months ago. The object of the visit, it appears, was to hold a council with the agents of the Texan Government for the ransom of their prisoner, and to ascertain if they would be paid for others in their possession. The Indians were invited to a council, but while assembled in the room, two companies of troops were marched in, and they were all destined to be prisoners. The Indians finding they were betrayed, made a rush to escape, and a fight commenced, which resulted in the death of fifty-five warriors, principally chiefs, two women, and three children. A small number who escaped across the river were pursued by mounted men, and every one killed but a renegade Mexican. The Texan loss was seven killed and three wounded. The next day a squaw was despatched to request an exchange of prisoners, and it was expected that she would return in four days with the captives. An expedition was to march against the Cumanchees forthwith.—*St. Lucia Independent Press.*

Southern Africa.

Various accounts from the Cape excite serious apprehensions that the removal of Sir Andrew Stockenstrom from his office of Lieutenant-Governor, and the powerful influence of his opponents, to whom the restored lands of the Caffres are very attractive, may defeat the just and pacific measures introduced by Lord Glenelg, and cause a return to the *commando* system which preceded it. The following letter from the Caffre chief Maquomo, is an interesting evidence both of the apprehensions and good intentions of the chiefs of the Caffre nation. There is reason to fear that some of their people are guilty

of committing depredations upon the colonists, but it is reported that even these depredations have been committed at the instigation of colonists, who have participated in the plunder.

"*Caffraria, 23rd December*, 1839.

"OUR FRIEND,

"The hearts of the Amacosa are sunk in sorrow. Stockenstrom has been picked out: he possesses our confidence: he has followed the words of the Queen. We see him no more with our eyes: we look for him: he delays to come. The words of the white men smell of war; they are changing again, and my people cannot comprehend the cause. We are not children to view these things with indifference, for as soon as Stockenstrom left the land, most of the depredations committed in the colony were placed against the Caffres. The Governor's words to his Council about me are not good words. We love peace; but some of your people, who say they love God, love war also. They want our grass, they want our streams; but they must walk over the dead bodies of the Amacosa before they take more of our country. The words of the chiefs are: 'They pray your Queen to send Stockenstrom back; and do not let the settlers cause the treaties to be altered. We touched the pen, and called upon the Divine Spirit to witness we had done so. They contain a good word for Caffre and Colonist, if they are broken, the land will be broken, and war will be heard from the forests of the Amatola, and the children of Gaica will weep and die on his grave. The chiefs love Colonel Bunney; he listens to truth, he does not love war; and they wish he could be placed at Beaufort to remain near the Caffres."

"(Signed) MAQUOMO,
Prince of the Amacosa.

"*To the Right Honourable Lord Glenelg.*

"Lutu.
"Pyalie.
"Botman.
"Enor.
} Witnesses.

Thomas Brown,
Jacob Plaatze,
} Interpreters.

"*A true copy* for the Aboriginal Society, and Gentlemen who sent the ploughs by desire of the chief Maquomo."

Natal.

DESTRUCTION OF THE ZOOLAS BY THE EMIGRANT BOORS.

From the "Colonial Times," Graham's Town.

An English trader has just arrived from Colesberg, and informs us, that just as he was departing from that village, a Boor arrived from the Commando which had gone against Dingaan, stating that the Boors had destroyed that chief. The Commando surrounded a great body of the Zoolas, who had retired into a krantz, and destroyed

vast numbers. Finding themselves failing in strength, from the well-directed balls of the Boors, the remainder sued for mercy, and it was granted on the condition that they would direct them to the spot where Dingaan was concealed. A party of Zoolas accompanied the Commando to the spot, and an attack was made against them, which terminated in the total discomfiture of the Zoolas, and the death of Dingaan, who fell in the midst of his warriors. It is further reported that the loss on the part of the Boors was trifling, amounting only to fifteen killed. We give the above as detailed to us, without offering any comments upon the report, but that it is generally believed to be true from the respectability of the trader who brought down the news.

Other accounts from the same quarter announce that the Boors have confiscated the territories of Dingaan, to indemnify themselves for the expenses of the war which they have carried on against him; that they had fixed upon the site of a town, and were making allotments of land, which was rapidly advancing in value, and selling at a considerable price. It is asserted in a letter received from a most respectable authority at the Cape, that a principal cause of the emigration which has led to so much destruction of life, has been the desire to continue the system of slavery after it had ceased to be tolerated within the British colony, and that since their emigration they have made slaves of the young Zoolas after having slain their parents.

Australia.

The difficulties existing between the colonists at Port Philip and the neighbouring natives, of which some account was given in a preceding number, appear to be by no means abated. The following Memorial presented to the Governor by some of the colonists will give some idea of the state of things in that settlement, and show both the inefficiency of the system of protectorship as at present established, and the desire, on the part of some of the colonists, to see their own safety provided for without compromising the lives and interests of the natives. There would, however, be much danger to them in sanctioning the summary punishments for which the Memorialists have petitioned. In conjunction with this subject, it must be observed, that there are other colonists who are far from participating in the humane feelings adopted by the Memorialists. A letter, written by a most respectable person who has recently visited Port Philip, mentions the appalling fact that he heard a settler there avow his determination to shoot as many of the blacks as he could.

From the "Port Philip Gazette" 25, 3 mo. 1840.

(MEMORIAL.)

"To His Excellency Sir GEORGE GIPPS, Captain General and Governor in Chief of New South Wales, &c. &c. &c.

"SHOWETH,—

"That the attention of Memorialists has been painfully directed to the condition of the Aboriginal Inhabitants of this district, by the many outrages committed by them, on the persons and properties of the colonists; and by the rapidly proceeding diminution of the numbers of the native population, tending in all appearance to their final and utter extinction. Sheep are being daily stolen, driven away, and destroyed; servants so frightened as to be unfit to discharge their duties, and in many instances murder has been committed.

"That Memorialists have no protection or safeguard against the repetition of such outrages, for although an Assistant Protector of Aborigines has been for a considerable period stationed in the district, his presence has rather encouraged the native tribes in their aggressions, while he has not, so far as Memorialists are able to discover, rendered them any service, in defending their rights, or protecting them from the lower classes of the white population; nor do Memorialists conceive his procedure in any degree fitted to improve the condition of those for whose benefit he is understood to be stationed here.

"That Memorialists beg further respectfully to state that the Border Police has been equally ineffective in protecting them, being never on the spot to prevent the occurrence of Aboriginal outrage; and in every instance where the attempt has been made, having failed in expiscating truth respecting reported collisions between the white and the black population.

"That it appears to Memorialists that some alteration in the law, as affecting the Aborigines, is necessary; many of the offences which they are in the habit of committing being cognizable only in the Supreme Court; and they would respectfully submit to Your Excellency, the propriety of making legislative provision for the summary treatment of Aboriginal outrages by the local magistracy, and for affixing such punishments to their offences (to be inflicted on the spot) as will tend to deter others from similar crimes.

"That while Memorialists complain of the aggression of the Aborigines, they beg respectfully to assure Your Excellency, that they are not insensible to the claims of that unfortunate race to humane and kindly treatment, and are most anxious to see proper methods adopted for the amelioration of their condition.

"That it appears to Memorialists that the original occupants of the soil have an irresistible claim on the Government of this country for support, inasmuch as the presence of the colonists abridges their

means of subsistence, whilst it furnishes to the public treasury a large revenue in the shape of fees for licenses, and assessments on stock, together with very large sums paid for land siezed by the Crown, and alienated to private individuals.

"That it appears to Memorialists that the interests at once of the natives and the colonists would be most effectually promoted by the Government reserving suitable portions of land within the territorial limits of the respective tribes, with the view of weaning them from their erratic habits; forming thereon depôts for supplying them with provisions and clothing, under the charge of individuals of exemplary moral character, taking at the same time an interest in their welfare, and who would endeavour to instruct them in agriculture and other useful arts.

"That Memorialists would respectfully express their firm conviction, founded on past experience and from what is now passing in the district, that religious instruction by Missionaries taking a deep interest in the temporal and eternal welfare of the Aborigines, forms the only means of civilizing them, and they would suggest that this be kept in view in any arrangements attempted for bettering their condition.

"That while Memorialists humbly conceive that the duty of supporting the Aborigines, as well as that of protecting from aggressions those who pay so largely for the privilege of occupying the territories once possessed by them, devolves upon the Government, they have no doubt that any judicious plan for the civilization of the natives would be liberally supported by many philanthropic individuals who desire to preserve them from extinction, and to see them raised to the rank of Christian and civilized men.

"In conclusion, Memorialists would humbly but earnestly implore Your Excellency, with the least possible delay, to adopt some effectual measures, commensurate with the great object in view, to protect the colonists from native outrage; to prevent the utter extermination of the Aboriginal race; and to impart to their condition every improvement of which it is susceptible."

The Aborigines' Committee is desirous to impress on the minds of Friends generally the importance of an increased acquaintance with this subject, and earnestly recommends the perusal and circulation of the pamphlets relating to it, published by the Meeting for Sufferings. The small number which has been called for by the Society shows how much this recommendation is needed.

Harvey and Darton, Printers, Gracechurch Street.

AN

ADDRESS OF CHRISTIAN COUNSEL AND CAUTION

TO EMIGRANTS

TO NEWLY-SETTLED COLONIES.

(Issued on behalf of the Religious Society of Friends.)

In this day, in which our overflowing population are seeking fresh avenues for enterprise, and fresh means of subsistence, in countries hitherto occupied by uncivilized tribes, the proper regulation of our conduct towards these races forms a very important part of our duty to our fellow-men.

The Society of Friends, both in this country and in America, has, from a very early period of its history, felt and evinced a lively interest in the welfare of the uncivilized and the enslaved, and a desire that their inalienable rights as a part of the great family of man might be respected, and their civilization and religious instruction promoted.

This interest continues to be cherished amongst us; and as a fruit of it, we, at this time, feel disposed to offer a few words of Christian counsel and caution to those who are about to emigrate to, or have already established themselves in, colonies adjacent to uncivilized nations or tribes.

Dear fellow-professors of the Christian name, these hints are offered to you in love, and in a sincere desire for your temporal and eternal welfare, as well as for that of the native races resident in or near your settlements.

I. May you ever keep in remembrance as a *practical* truth, that "God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth." May you reject from your own minds, and endeavour to remove from those of your offspring, your friends, and your neighbours, every germ of prejudice on account of the difference of colour or of race, between you and the natives with whom you may come in contact; and habituate yourselves to regard them as brethren by creation, as possessed equally with yourselves of immortal souls, as alike objects of a Saviour's love. May you cultivate feelings of good neighbourhood towards them, and dwell amongst them in harmony and brotherly kindness. Public opinion and public feeling are made up of individual opinions and individual feelings; and we would therefore remind you, that you will be in degree responsible, individually, for the tone of public sentiment and conduct in this respect in your colony.

II. May you remember, that He who is the Almighty Parent of the human family, and who hath given our dear native land to us, and to our fathers before us, hath also given to the poor inhabitant of the wilderness the spot where he erects his hut, the forests where he hunts, and the wild fruits and plants which contribute to his subsistence. Be very careful, therefore, that you do not dispossess any of the natives of their lands or their humble dwellings, and that, as far as possible, you avoid everything which may interfere either directly or indirectly with their means of support.

III. Since knowledge is power, how important is it to consider in what manner you are using this power, which you possess in a superior degree to the natives around you, lest you be found amongst the strong who oppress the weak! He who practises upon the simplicity of a child, the imbecility of an idiot, or the ignorance of the uncivilized, to obtain anything for less than he knows that he ought in fairness and honesty to give, is a robber in the sight of God. May you so cherish a tender conscience as to be wholly preserved from this sin, whether in reference to the possessions

or to the labour of the Aborigines. " A Father of the fatherless and a Judge of the widows is God in His holy habitation."

IV. We would earnestly beseech you not only to abstain from every act either of injustice or of violence towards the natives, but should they, either from regarding you as intruders on their soil, or even without such a cause, exhibit in their intercourse with you those fruits of an unregenerate heart, wrath, malice, envy, cruelty, and deceit; or should they be guilty of other offences, we would entreat you to bear even the injuries to which you may be thus, in some instances, exposed, in a meek and Christian spirit. Consider how great are the disadvantages, both moral and religious, under which they labour when compared with you; and, as saith the Apostle, " Who maketh thee to differ from another, and what hast thou that thou didst not receive?" Often too will it be found that their acts of violence or of fraud have been provoked, though not perhaps by yourselves, yet by the misdeeds of other whites to them; and whether it be so or not, may you ever remember that the Christian is commanded not to avenge himself, but to be patient towards all men. There is perhaps no point in which the conduct of the true follower of Christ shines out more strikingly in contrast with that of the unregenerate man, than in his meekness and patience when suffering wrongfully. He by whose holy name we are called, hath enjoined us to love our enemies, to do good to them that hate us, and to pray for them that despitefully use us and persecute us; and He hath also left us an example that we should follow his steps.

V. Let no consideration whatever induce you to supply the natives with warlike weapons or ammunition, or with ardent spirits. These pernicious articles of traffic have been amongst the most fearful means of accelerating the extinction of the Aborigines in the neighbourhood of the settlements of civilized men. With what consistency can the professing Christian put up the petition, " Lead us not into temptation," when, instead of seeking to deliver the untutored Heathen from evil, he is actually placing temptations to sin in their way and doing

what in him lies to destroy both the bodies and souls of his fellow-men?

VI. Be very careful that, so far as it may be in your power to promote it, the natives have the full benefit of equal laws and equal rights with yourselves. Let not this principle be a dead letter, but an operative rule of conduct in all the acts and relations of life.

VII. Let not any say in their hearts, "I know not these things. I suppose that the Government has done all that is right. I cannot search out these matters." Remember that he who wilfully shuts his eyes, is responsible for what he might see. The blessing of the Most High rests upon him who searches out the cause that he knew not, who relieves the oppressed, and who visits the fatherless and the widows in their afflictions.

VIII. Though you may individually keep clear of any acts of oppression towards the natives, yet remember that the necessary and inevitable consequence of the advance of the habitations of civilized men is to destroy the game and other means of support relied on by the uncivilized. Under such circumstances therefore, to do nothing for their good is to be accessory to their destruction. If you would be clear of this sin, whilst partaking of the gains of colonization in a new settlement, you must not only do your part towards providing adequate reservations for the natives, you must see that they are really appropriated to them and preserved inviolate: you must assist them in improving these reservations; you must take every opportunity which offers to put them in the way of helping themselves; you must promote their settling down to civilized habits, and acquiring a knowledge of the best way to turn their labour to good account.

IX. In connexion herewith we would beseech you to do all in your power to promote the prompt and efficient establishment of schools, both for the children and the adults of the native tribes in your vicinity. There is no time to be lost in performing this labour of love; for unless an improved system be adopted in our intercourse with the Aborigines, (and

in such a system, education forms an essential part,) the remnants of the native races will, we fear, be rapidly swallowed up by the advancing tide of colonization.

X. There is one subject however, which, while it is intimately connected with each of the other points to which we have invited your attention, surpasses them all in importance. You go out in profession at least, and as to many of you, we would hope, in reality also, as Christians amongst Heathen tribes. The voice of glad tidings should flow from your lips, and the banner of the Prince of Peace should be in your hands. If, through the grace of God, you have been brought to know for yourselves that Christ "is precious," to witness "redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of sins," you will be concerned that the message of reconciliation through Him should be conveyed to those around you, who may not have yet heard the joyful sound. If you know the blessedness of being led by the Spirit of God yourselves, you will be engaged, as He may give ability, to point the attention of your untutored fellow-men to this Heavenly Instructor, the reprover for sin, the source of faith, and the guide in the way of holiness.

And whether this concern for the souls of those around you be evinced by distributing copies of the Holy Scriptures among them, by reading to them, by school-teaching, or by the exercise of the gift of Christian ministry, according to your several qualifications for service, you must be sensible, that, unless you are endeavouring to practise what you teach, you cannot expect that the shrewed and often remarkably observant natives will be favourably disposed to receive it. "Let your lights" then, beloved fellow-Christians, "so shine before men, that they seeing your good works may glorify your Father which is in Heaven!"

And here we would remind you of the danger to which the emigrants to new colonies are often exposed, of adopting a lower standard of morals than that which prevails in the respective neighbourhoods in which they were brought up, where they may have had to some extent a reputation to maintain, and where their outward success in life may have very much

depended upon character. It is to be feared, that many of the first settlers, and especially of those at the out-stations, are persons who have little either of property or of character to lose. Not only are these borderers themselves generally the very lowest class of whites, but they are also brought into contact with the stragglers of the native tribes, often the most unsettled, and — especially after their intercourse with the whites,—the most degraded of their race; and it is too frequently the case, that when a fresh company of emigrants of a more respectable description come into such a neighbourhood, instead of endeavouring to raise the standard of the district to the Christian level, many of them insensibly allow their own to sink to that which they find there. How often has it happened in consequence of this tendency, that men who were correct and respectable in their conduct, and by no means destitute of religious principle whilst on British ground, have in a slave colony, or in a new settlement, been guilty of things of which they would before have thought themselves incapable! For the sake of your own immortal souls, as well as on account of your uncivilized and degraded fellow-creatures around you, we would entreat you seriously to ponder these things, and to crave that through divine grace you may be enabled to preserve a conscience void of offence towards God and towards man, even in the midst of the abounding wickedness with which you may be encompassed.

Greatly indeed should we rejoice, if it never could be said of professing Christians, in reference to their intercourse with Pagan tribes, that the name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles through them. Oh that instead thereof it might be evident to all, that Christians make the best colonists, because of the civilizing power of the truths which they profess and the duties which they practise! Were they concerned wherever they go to advance the Redeemer's kingdom upon earth, the wilderness and the solitary place would be glad for them; and through their means, both physically and morally, the desert would rejoice and blossom as the rose, joy and gladness would be found therein, thanksgiving and the voice of melody!

We are aware that we hold up a high standard; but as it is that which is enjoined by the Gospel, so it is not too high for the attainment of the humble Christian. That which we suggest for your consideration, and to which we invite you, has for its object your own temporal and eternal prosperity, as well as that of the poor outcasts of the wilderness. Earnest are our desires for you, that you may be wholly delivered from the guilt and the punishment of the oppressor, and that you may both obey the injunction and partake of the blessing contained in those words of the Psalmist, "Trust in the Lord and do good, so shalt thou dwell in the land, and verily thou shalt be fed." And whilst we shudder at the thought of the crimes which have been perpetrated under the Christian and the British name, amongst the oppressed and untutored tribes who have come within the range of our colonists, and remember with awe the retributive justice which at times, even in this world, marks the providence of an All-seeing and righteous God, we rejoice in the animating persuasion that His especial blessing would rest upon those colonies which should fully show forth to surrounding nations, that in all their intercourse with the uncivilized and the Heathen, in their treaties and their commerce with them, in their respect for their rights and liberties, and above all, in their concern for their eternal interests, they ever kept in view and sought to fulfil the blessed precept of our holy Redeemer, "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."

Harvey and Darton, Printers, Gracechurch-street.

THE REPORT

OF THE

MEETING FOR SUFFERINGS

RESPECTING THE

ABORIGINES,

PRESENTED TO THE YEARLY MEETING, 1841.

Second Edition.

LONDON:
EDWARD MARSH, 84, HOUNDSDITCH.
1843.

[Tract Relative to the Aborigines, No. 7.]

THE FOLLOWING TRACTS
ARE PUBLISHED BY THE MEETING FOR SUFFERINGS.

No. 1.—INFORMATION RESPECTING THE ABORIGINES IN THE BRITISH COLONIES.—1838.

No. 2.—EFFECTS OF THE INTRODUCTION OF ARDENT SPIRITS AND IMPLEMENTS OF WAR AMONGST THE NATIVES OF THE SOUTH-SEA ISLANDS AND NEW SOUTH WALES.—1839.

No. 3.—FURTHER INFORMATION RESPECTING THE ABORIGINES; containing Extracts from the Proceedings of the Meeting for Sufferings in London, and of the Committee on Indian Affairs; of the Yearly Meetings of Philadelphia and Baltimore; together with some particulars relative to the Seminole War.—1839.

No. 4.—FACTS RELATIVE TO THE CANADIAN INDIANS.—1839.

No. 5.—REPORT OF THE ABORIGINES' COMMITTEE OF THE MEETING FOR SUFFERINGS FOR THE YEAR 1840; with the Address to Lord John Russell; that to Friends settling in New Colonies; and some particulars respecting the state of Aboriginal Tribes.—1840.

No. 6.—AN ADDRESS OF CHRISTIAN COUNSEL AND CAUTION TO EMIGRANTS.—1841.

REPORT

FROM THE

MEETING FOR SUFFERINGS

TO THE

YEARLY MEETING

RESPECTING THE

ABORIGINES.

AT a MEETING for SUFFERINGS, held the 11th of the 5th month, 1841.

THE subject of the Aborigines, which was referred by the last Yearly Meeting to the further care of the Meeting for Sufferings, has from time to time continued to obtain the attention both of the Meeting itself, and also of its standing Committee specially appointed to that service.

The Meeting, however, has received fewer communications, and has less variety of details to report to the Yearly Meeting, respecting the state of the uncivilized Aborigines in different parts of the globe, in this, than in some former years. This deficiency is not referable to the diminished claims which this portion of our fellow-creatures presents to our sympathy, but rather to the difficulties which have stood in the way of obtaining information. On various grounds the condition of the aboriginal population in the British Colonies never called for more serious and attentive consideration from the members of our Society than at the present time. Emigration is proceeding with almost unprecedented rapidity, and to districts entirely new. Collisions are frequently occurring between colonists and natives, and under the existing systems they seem to be almost unavoidable; and not only our countrymen at large, but our fellow-members in particular, are deeply interested in putting a stop to atrocities, by which the profession of Christianity is disgraced, and the innocent often become sufferers.

In relation to this subject, the Meeting has thought it right to draw up an Address to Emigrants who may be likely to be brought into relation with uncivilized men. This address has been supplied to several emigrant vessels, and its further distribution is continued under the care of some members of the committee.

The meeting is of opinion that benefit would result from Friends in different parts of the country taking care that a supply of copies of the Address should be placed in the hands of such Friends and others as may be emigrating from their respective neighbourhoods to colonies planted in the vicinity of aboriginal tribes.

No replies have yet been received from friends in Canada to the queries which were last year reported to have been addressed to them, regarding the present state of the Indians residing within the limits, or on the borders of the British provinces, which is probably to be attributed to the fact, that there are no members of our Society living within many miles of the Indian settlements. From accounts received from other sources, it appears that the conversion and instruction of the Chippewa Indians continues to be a subject of serious attention with the members of other religious denominations, although their progress has been somewhat obstructed by different circumstances affecting the state of the provinces, and in some instances by the removal of the Indians, in consequence of the treaty alluded to in former years.

The Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, published at Washington on behalf of the Government, contains the following Letter from Elias Newby, addressed to W. Cummins, the United States Agent for Indian Affairs. It is, however, of old date, being written from the Friends' station, Shawnee nation, 10th of 11th month, 1839.

"Respected Friend,—These will inform you that we have had thirteen Shawnee children at school pretty regular, some a little over, and others a little under ten years old, aged as follows:—

"Two about sixteen years old; four about eleven years old; two about nine years old; five under eight years old. None knew all their letters when they commenced, with the exception of two, who could spell a little in two syllables. Now two are beginning to read in the testament; four spell and pronounce pretty well anywhere in the spelling-book, and pronounce in one or two syllables; four know their letters; two are writing on paper, seven on slates. Their advance in that branch equals anything I ever saw among the whites. The prospect is to continue the school. We teach them the English language. I cannot tell but what the capacity of the Indian is equal to that of white children,—put them under the same embarrassments.

"Elias Newby."

"*Richard W. Cummins.*"

Though this scanty account is much less encouraging than those which Friends in this country were wont to receive respecting the efforts of their brethren in America, when the Indian settlements had not been removed so far to the west; still we cannot but admire the devotedness of those who are willing to continue their labour of love even in this present remote situation, and amidst increased difficulties in the way of their progress.

In a former year, this Committee reprinted some account of the exertions of Friends in Pennsylvania, to sustain the Seneca Indians in their remonstrance with the general government, against the iniquitous attempts to effect their removal. They have now to report that those efforts have been rendered fruitless, by the presiding officer of the senate having given his casting vote in favour of the removal of the Indians; but as five years are allowed for carrying the measure into execution, hopes are entertained that the change in the administration may produce some mitigation of their doom, as the United States government officially recognises rights on the part of the Indians, and votes considerable sums of money for Indian affairs, though the application of them appears to have been, in some instances, defeated by the conduct of those entrusted with them.

Interesting accounts of many settlements of native Africans within the British dominions in the Cape colony have been laid before Friends, in the published extracts from the journal of our friends, James Backhouse and George Washington Walker. Like their statements regarding the natives of Australia and Van Dieman's Land, they furnish abundant proof that the uncivilized inhabitants of British Colonies have strong claims on our continued sympathy and succour.

This meeting would, in conclusion, express its hopes that Friends in the country will be encouraged to cherish a lively and increasing interest on behalf of the various races of uncivilized men, who are brought into contact with civilized, and especially with British settlers, and that they will freely communicate such information as they may obtain, and such inquiries as they may be desirous of making to the Aborigines Committee of the Meeting for Sufferings, directed to the care of William Manley.

The following Report to the Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia was read at the last Yearly Meeting in London.

To the Yearly Meeting,
the Committee appointed for the gradual Improvement and Civilization of Indian Natives, report,

That in our Report of last year we informed the Yearly Meeting of our apprehension, that the numerous and powerful interests which were combined with the policy of the government in attempting to procure a cession of the remaining portion of the Indian reservations, and the consequent removal of these defenceless people to the westward of the Mississippi, would in all probability be successful.

The pretended treaty of the eighth month, 1838, had been referred to the Senate of the United States, and returned by that body to the President, with authority to make proclamation of the treaty, and carry it into effect whenever he should be satisfied that the assent

of the Seneca tribes of Indians had been obtained, agreeably to the true intent and meaning of the resolution adopted by the Senate in the sixth month, 1838, but no action upon this authority had taken place at the time of our last Yearly Meeting.

The Secretary of War, to whose department the concerns of the Indians are chiefly entrusted, having announced to some members of this Committee his determination to hold a council in person with the Indians at Buffalo, in the seventh month following, and inviting a delegation of our number to be present, it was thought advisable that a visit should be paid to the Indians previously to the expected council. Three friends were accordingly appointed in the fourth month last to visit the Indians at their different reservations; to explain to them the nature of the treaty which was to be offered to their acceptance; to endeavour to ascertain their disposition in respect to emigration, and either to attend the council held by the Secretary of War, or not, as they, upon a careful examination of circumstances, should judge best. The friends thus appointed repaired to the Indian country in the sixth month following. As the Indians of Buffalo possess great influence in the councils of the Seneca nation, and have more frequent intercourse with the officers connected with Indian affairs than the occupants of the other reservations, it was thought eligible to ascertain the sentiments of their chiefs upon the subject of emigration, before proceeding to any other reservation. A council was accordingly held near the end of the sixth month, a few miles from Buffalo, which was attended by about fifty Indians. Friends explained to them what they believed to be the intention of the Government; informed them of the visit to Washington, which was made on their account, the efforts which were used to convince the President and Secretary of War of the injustice inseparable from the ratification of the treaty, and the unfitness of the lands which were offered on the west of the Mississippi for the accommodation and support of the Indians. They also let them know that the President and Secretary distinctly stated that the Indians must be removed from the State of New York, but that the President had declared his intention to submit the treaty once more to the Seneca nation, and try whether any modification of its terms could be made, which would render it acceptable; and that the Secretary of War expressed a willingness to permit a further examination of the lands in the west, in order to find a situation more satisfactory to the Indians. The Indians listened to this address with intense anxiety. In some of them the prospect of being compelled to abandon their present location appeared to produce a feeling of despair, while in others an indignant determination to contend and suffer for their rights was evidently awakened. They unitedly declared that they desired no new examination of the land west of the Mississippi, that they did not expect to find a more desirable location than their present home, for which they were determined not to be removed, except by force; that it was needless to consider the proposal of the Secretary of War, because they did not wish to treat for the sale of

their lands upon any terms whatever. One of them, on behalf of the rest, expressed their thankfulness to Friends for their kindness and assistance, and desired that Friends would continue their attention, even if they should be driven to the west. But he added, that these attempts to remove them were the greatest bars to improvement; that the Indians had no encouragement to make improvements, from which they might be compelled to remove, and leave them for others to enjoy; that they seemed to have no security for their possessions, nor would they have, if removed to the west. That neither President nor Congress could give them any better security for the lands beyond the Mississippi than they had for their present homes. If the white men wanted the land, then another President and Congress would take that from the Indians, as the present ones were doing now.

From the conversation which our friends had with some of the principal Indians on that reservation, it appeared evident that the opposition to emigration had increased since the autumn of the preceding year; and some of them who were then in favour of the treaty had become hostile to it.

A General Council was afterwards convened at Buffalo, on the 5th of seventh month, which, however, the Tonawanta and Oneida chiefs were prevented from attending. This council our friends were invited to attend: there the explanations given at the former council were repeated, and the chiefs appeared all to unite in the sentiments which were expressed in the former.

From Buffalo, Friends proceeded to Tunisassah, where a family of Friends continues to reside, and spent several days on that reservation and its vicinity. They had the satisfaction to believe that the Indians there have not retrogaded in regard to industry and sobriety. Many of the chiefs and other influential natives manifest a disposition to discourage the sale and use of ardent spirits. Most of them have small clearings which they cultivate, and the appearance of their crops generally indicated industry and attention. Hence there appeared a reasonable prospect that they would be sufficiently supplied for the ensuing year. But they labour under numerous and complicated difficulties. There are among them some who are too infirm to provide for their own support, and widows with large families, where children are too young to contribute much towards their subsistence. Besides, the flood and frost of 1836 and 1837 have reduced numbers of them to a condition from which they cannot suddenly recover. The loss of their horses and oxen has operated very unfavourably upon their agricultural operations, and promoted the practice of letting out their land to white men to be cultivated. This practice encourages habits of idleness among the Indians, and increases a population on their land, which it is very desirable to keep away. On many parts of the reservation there are white people located, whose principles and morals can scarcely fail to deteriorate the simple natives. The navigable river, which passes through the middle of this reservation, furnishes em-

ployment to boatmen of loose principles, who are likely to diffuse the poison of their example among the native inhabitants, as they pass to and fro. To this may be added the circumstance so feelingly alluded to in the council at Buffalo, that the uncertain tenure by which their possessions are held, and the efforts incessantly making to procure their removal, must operate as a serious discouragement, and greatly counteract any disposition which may be excited among them to cultivate habits of industry and economy, when the fruits of their labours may be soon wrested from them.

In a Council held at Cold Spring, on this reservation on the 12th of seventh month, Friends endeavoured to impress upon the Indians the importance of establishing habits of greater industry, and of preventing the white people from settling on their lands. This advice appeared to be well received, the chiefs endeavouring to impress it on the minds of the young. The same determined opposition to emigration which had appeared in the council at Buffalo, was manifested at Cold Spring. The two belonging to this reservation, who signed the treaty, are said to be now opposed to it.

Upon deliberate consideration, it was concluded most eligible for the sub-committee not to attend the council which the Secretary of War proposed to hold with the Indians. We have been informed that the council was opened by the Secretary at Cataragus, on the 12th of eighth month. There the Indians were urged to accede to the terms of the amended treaty, and some endeavours were made to convince them of the advantages to be derived from emigration, and of the liberality of the Government towards them. In reply, fresh proofs were exhibited of the corruption practised in procuring signatures to the treaty, in the form of contracts, securing to the signors sums of from four to six thousand dollars, besides other advantages; and an earnest appeal was made to the Secretary on behalf of the great mass of the nation, that they might be suffered to remain where they are, and prosecute their improvements. They also requested that their annuities, which are greatly in arrear, might be paid. They further offered to ratify a treaty securing to such Indians as chose to emigrate their full share of land and all other national property. The Secretary closed the council by a short speech, in which he advised the Indians to promote harmony and friendship among themselves, to cultivate their land, to build better houses, and to send their children to school. He told them he would communicate to the President the substance of what had passed, and inform them shortly of their conclusion respecting the treaty.

Soon after the opening of the present session of Congress, the President transmitted the treaty to the Senate with information, that, in his opinion, it had not received the assent of the Seneca nation in the manner contemplated and directed by the former resolutions of the Senate; yet, after a long discussion of the subject, that body passed a resolution by the casting vote of the presiding officer, declaring that it had been sufficiently assented to by the Senecas, and advising and recommending that the President proceed to proclaim it, and carry

its provision into effect. It has accordingly been proclaimed, and there is no reason to doubt but it will be executed at the earliest period of which its terms admit, and the Seneca Indians be compelled to abandon their improvements on the reservation to which they have so fondly clung, and seek new homes in the territory assigned them west of the Mississippi.

The depressed condition of these interesting people, and the complicated wrongs which they have suffered, and are suffering, from the more enlightened inhabitants of our common country, present strong claims upon our sympathy and Christian commiseration, and ought to awaken a serious inquiry as to what remains for us to do towards removing or mitigating the evils to which they are exposed.

By an examination of the Treasurer's account, we find that he has in his possession bonds and mortgages to the amount of 5900 dollars, and 837 $\frac{96}{100}$ in cash.

This Committee having been several years under appointment, we suggest to the Yearly Meeting the expediency of a new nomination.

Signed, by direction of the Committee,

THOMAS WISTAR,

Philadelphia,
4 *mo.* 16, 1840.

CLERK.

The following particulars relating to some of the class of Aborigines, for whom the interest of Friends has been engaged, are added by way of Appendix to the Report, although they were not produced at the Yearly Meeting.

Hesh-ton-a-quet, a Chippewa Indian chief, formerly resident on the Canadian side of the boundary, and who became known to some friends in England, when fraudulently brought here by an adventurer, who designed to make a show of him, has at length been induced to dispose of his reservations, which were partially situated on the American side, and has accepted the offers of the American Government, and removed beyond the Missouri. He has had difficulties to contend with, which are described in the following letter, addressed by him to Sir Augustus d'Este.

"*Osage River, west of Mississippi,*
April 26, 1841.

"*Sir Augustus d'Este,*

"MY BROTHER,—I was very happy to find in Westport, a few days ago, a letter from my friend Thomas Hodgkin. I rejoice to

hear that your life and health is continued, as well as that of my friend Hodgkin. For two nights I could not sleep; I felt when I looked at the letter, that I could almost see you both. I, too, am much blessed; my health is good, but I am constantly sick in my heart on account of the recent death of my eldest son. I feel that the Creator of all things has taken him from me; so I am compelled to think it is all for the best. That which is contained in the letter is true; I was certainly foolish to sell off my land, and come to this place. If the Americans had not cheated me, I would not have come here, but they bought my lands, and then would not pay me until I removed to this place; so it was not my wish to come here, but it was your own kind of people, the whiteskins. I was told that if I did not come here, I should not have any money, but if I should come here I could have a great deal. I accordingly came, but still do not get paid. I have just spent all that my friends in England gave me, and I am now poor; I did not make myself poor, but the Americans did it. That which you say, is probably true, that the government does not cheat me, but some of its servants. I was promised when leaving my old home for this place, that, on my arrival here, we should be furnished with eight yoke of oxen, and all kinds of farming utensils, but although we have been here two winters, we have not received, as yet, anything of the kind. I have just now returned from Westport, sixty miles distant, where I purchased for our use one yoke of oxen, twenty hoes, and a plough; I have also bought cows, hogs, &c. I am pleased with this country; the land is good, and the climate pleasant, but I am afraid that the U. S. will continue as they have begun—to cheat me. Probably, when I get improvements made here, the white man will again take it from me. I sometimes think that if I had removed into Canada, I should have been better off. The time is probably not far when they shall want me to plough with my foot, and use hands instead of the hoe. Since we came here, we have received but six hundred dollars of my old debt, which they owed my father. I remember that in Canada, your people always gave much to the Indians, and that when your people promised anything we were sure to receive what was promised. But here it is not so. We were promised that on our arrival here we should be fed, but we were here two months before we received anything, and we were compelled to run in debt for our food. So many failures make me think that we shall at last be cheated more and more. During the winter before last, we worked hard to clear off large fields. I sold a horse to get seeds, expecting that we should get our oxen as we were promised, but have never got any till I just now bought one yoke. The hope that we should get the oxen, &c. stimulated us to work hard; I brought with me goods to last me for several years.

I then sold all off, to enable me enclose and cultivate a large farm, hoping that with my money which I was to receive, I could get goods for clothing again. Our clothing is given out; we have no money, and we are indeed poor. The white man comes from the Atlantic, and says to us, Go a little further. As soon as we are set-

tled, we hear the command again, Go a little further. When I last sold my land, I was promised, by treaty, that I should have a deed for my land here; but I cannot get it. I shall probably soon hear the same old command, Go a little further; this is what discourages and alarms me. In your last letter, you still show symptoms of great friendship; you encourage me much by promising to help us. I put my trust in you. I still feel that my English father has not forsaken me yet; I shall still hope for help from you. Your letter encourages me to look for another; I therefore shall now wait to know what help is coming, and shall gladly accept of whatever your liberality shall bestow upon us. I have told my people what you say to me, which causes them all to rejoice. If our Great Father shall pity me, and spare my life and health, I design within three or four years from this time, having provided a comfortable home for my family, to visit all my friends in London. I assure you that I feel extremely anxious to see you all again. I shake your hands, my dear friends, d'Este and Hodgkin. I am, as ever,

Your sincere friend,

HESH-TON-A-QUET.

Direct your letter to me, the care of Jothan Meeker, Westport, Jackson's County, Missouri.

It is gratifying to believe that his difficulties are likely to be removed, and that he will probably prove a useful neighbour to other Indians, likewise sent to that quarter. The following paragraph is extracted from a letter written by a gentleman connected with the Government at Washington :—" I learn through Mr. M'Coy, the missionary, that Hesh-ton-a-quet lives in his neighbourhood : that he is a very worthy Indian, is doing very well, and his removal would be a great loss and a serious injury to other Indians, as they would be deprived of his good example. His band consists of between fifty and one hundred persons, and they have thirteen square miles, or 8,320 acres of excellent land. There was a bill before Congress to pay them their emigration expenses, but I am inclined to the opinion that it was not acted on, for want of time. It will probably be carried through at the extra session, which is to take place on the 31st of May."

The Seminole Indians.

The war between the United States and the Seminole Indians has not yet terminated; but numbers of these unhappy people, finding further resistance useless, are submitting in small companies to the will of the American Government, and are to be sent to the far-west. There is now in this country a very interesting Seminole lad of about eleven years of age. He is a remarkably well disposed and intelligent child, and it is hoped that his education in this country

may, if suitably directed, be of essential service to his countrymen. He is a nephew of the chief Oceola, who died a prisoner in the United States.

Aborigines of Australia.

Launcelot Threlkeld, the conductor of a mission to the Aborigines in the neighbourhood of Lake Macquarie, in his annual report, published in the beginning of this year, gives some interesting particulars respecting these people, which tend to prove the great practical evil which results from the inadmissibility of their evidence in criminal cases. The ends of justice are thereby frustrated, whether they suffer from the hands of a colonist, or from violence committed by other natives. This deficiency has been the subject of repeated remonstrance in the interviews which Friends have had at the Colonial office, and it was believed that in Australia at least a remedy would be applied, yet it is stated in Threlkeld's report, after giving the particulars of certain murders which had been committed, "Since the transactions related took place, the Royal '*disallowance*' of the act to allow the Aborigines of New South Wales to be received as competent witnesses in criminal cases has been gazetted, and thus leaves them without any hope of redress, exposed to the violence of any one, excepting proof can be obtained from white witnesses, which is most easily avoided in this colony. I had apprised them of the expected piece of justice to the Aborigines. I am now perfectly at a loss to describe to them their position. Christian laws will hang the Aborigines for violence done to Christians, but Christian laws will not protect them from the agressions of nominal Christians, because Aborigines must give evidence only upon oath [which it is pretended that they are not sufficiently enlightened to be allowed to take]. The cases mentioned show the pitiable state in which the Aborigines are abandoned by the disallowance of their evidence; nor can the small remnant of the tribes long exist to call forth sympathy, even were they to enjoy every protection of British law, unless some fostering arm be stretched out, some special Providence intervene to rescue them from ruin." Launcelot Threlkeld, who it may be observed became acquainted with our friend Daniel Wheeler when he visited Australia, states facts in another part of the report, which prove that these Aborigines are not incapable of acquiring the manners of civilized life. "Some of them gain employment as carriers, messengers, and servants, and others going on board numerous vessels which frequent the coast At Twofold Bay there are two whale-boats entirely manned by Aborigines; one of the boats took five whales in one season, the other three. The men live in huts with their families, and cook their own provisions, the same as white people. Some of these women are good washerwomen, and one or two have made gowns for themselves."

Harvey and Darton, Printers, Gracechurch Street.

FURTHER INFORMATION

RESPECTING

THE ABORIGINES;

CONTAINING

REPORTS OF THE COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS AT PHILADELPHIA,

EXTRACTS FROM THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE YEARLY MEETING OF PHILADELPHIA, NEW YORK, NEW ENGLAND, MARYLAND VIRGINIA, AND OHIO.

TOGETHER WITH SOME PARTICULARS RELATIVE TO

THE NATIVES OF NEW ZEALAND, NEW HOLLAND, AND VAN DIEMAN'S LAND.

PUBLISHED BY DIRECTION OF THE

ABORIGINES' COMMITTEE

OF

The Meeting for Sufferings.

LONDON:

EDWARD MARSH, 84, HOUNDSDITCH.

1842.

[Tracts relative to the Aborigines, No. 8.]

FURTHER INFORMATION

RESPECTING

THE ABORIGINES.

THE Aborigines' Committee of the Meeting for Sufferings continue to have their attention directed to the important concerns committed to their care. Since the publication of the pamphlet last issued by the society on this subject, important information has been received through various channels respecting the Aborigines in the British Colonies, and other parts of the globe; and as it is believed that much of this possesses a character that will also prove interesting to Friends generally, and that it may tend to keep their minds alive to the importance of this subject, and contribute to promote their interest and more extensive co-operation in it, the Committee are induced to publish the following pages.

The communications which the Committee have from time to time received, in reference to the Aboriginal inhabitants of those distant parts where they have happened to come in contact with the white settlers

and traders, and the details which those communications furnish of the aggravated sufferings and oppressions inflicted on the uncivilized portions of the great human family, by the cupidity and avarice of merely nominal Christians, are indeed affecting, and the Committee would express a strong desire that the members of our religious society may be concerned carefully to guard against being, either directly or indirectly, implicated in these things; and that, both in their individual and their collective capacity, they may be fully alive to the enormity of this evil, and avail themselves of such opportunities as may arise for pleading on behalf of the just rights of these deeply-injured people, or for promoting an amelioration of their condition.

Friends who receive information, bearing on the situation and condition of the native population in our colonies and elsewhere, would, we believe, be promoting the objects entrusted to this Committee, by transmitting such intelligence to it.

A new edition of 3000 copies of the Address to Emigrants to newly-settled colonies, is now in the press. The distribution of this address to individuals who may be about to emigrate is very desirable. Copies may be had on application to EDWARD MARSH, 84, Houndsditch.

NORTH AMERICA.

The interesting tribes of the native Indian population, inhabiting the vast territory of the North American continent, still continue to claim the sympathy and regard of Friends, both in that country and in this.

By the following extracts from Epistles received at our last Yearly Meeting, from some of the Yearly Meetings of Friends in America, and the Reports of the Committee on Indian affairs at Philadelphia, we are gratified to observe that their attention towards the amelioration of the condition of the Indian races continues undiminished.

Extract from the Epistle of the Yearly Meeting of New York, 1841.

The concern of this meeting relative to the Indian tribes, located west of the Mississippi, has feelingly occupied its attention, and hopes are entertained that some way will open to render them essential service; but as yet, however, our efforts have been confined to preparatory measures. The Committee charged with this very interesting subject, were encouraged to continue their exertions to promote the benevolent object in view.

Extract from the Epistle of the Yearly Meeting of New England, 1841.

We still continue to extend a care towards the Aborigines of our country, and especially to the Penobscot tribe of Indians; and feel that this interesting and injured portion of the human family have strong claims upon our benevolent and Christian feelings.

Extract from the Epistle of the Yearly Meeting of Maryland, 1841.

Our establishment among the Shawnese tribe of Indians, now west of the Mississippi, continues to afford their children an opportunity for acquiring such an education as is best adapted to their wants.

About thirty-six youths of both sexes have been in the school during the present year. The males are also instructed in agriculture, and the females in housewifery. A religious meeting is kept up, which the children attend, and frequently a few of the Indians of the settlement. Care is taken to read the Holy Scriptures in the school. Our Superintendent is of the opinion that if our buildings were enlarged, and means adequate, the number of scholars would be very soon increased to one hundred.

Extract from the Epistle of the Yearly Meeting of Virginia, 1841.

Our Meeting for Sufferings continues its care and assistance to such of the descendants of African and Indian races as are illegally held in bondage. By information received from an attorney, whom they have long retained in their service, it appears that measures are now in contemplation, if not

in actual progress, by which it is apprehended that the liberty of a very numerous class who have been restored to their rights, through the instrumentality of that meeting, will again be brought into jeopardy; the Committee to whom their case for a number of years past has been specially confided, were instructed to employ able counsel for their defence, and encouraged to bestow all the care which their case may require.

Extract from the Epistle of the Yearly Meeting of Ohio, 1841.

The account lately received from our establishment west of the Mississippi is encouraging. The school there of upwards of thirty Indian children, is progressing satisfactorily. The boys being instructed in husbandry, as well as letters; and the girls employed in domestic services, whilst gaining literary knowledge. A portion of Scripture is daily read, a meeting held, and we hope the Christian instruction of young and old will continue to engage the close attention of our friends, who are placed among them as superintendents and teachers.

Extract from the Epistle of the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia, 1841.

Our Committee for the gradual civilization and improvement of the Indian natives, continue to give attention to this interesting concern; and, although many difficulties and discouragements attend its prosecution, we believe it right to pursue our efforts for the relief and assistance of these oppressed and injured people. We send you herewith a copy of the Report for this year.

INDIAN REPORT.

Report of the Committee of the Yearly Meeting of Friends held in Philadelphia, appointed for the gradual civilization, &c., of the Indian Natives, presented to the Meeting 4th mo. 21st, 1841, *and directed to be printed for the use of the members.*

TO THE YEARLY MEETING.

The Committee charged with promoting the gradual Improvement and Civilization of the Indian Natives, report:

That although they have given the usual attention to this interesting concern, there are but few subjects in their operations since the last report which require notice. The Indians have been in a very unsettled condition

during the past year, in consequence of the embarrassment and distress produced by the ratification of the treaty, and their uncertainty as to the best course to be pursued by them in their trying and perplexing circumstances. They still cling to the hope that they shall be able to ward off the calamity which threatens them, either through the favourable disposition of the new administration and senate to give their case a rehearing, or by an appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States. Small as the hope afforded by these sources may appear to a disinterested observer, they are buoyed up by it, and seem as unwilling as ever to look toward relinquishing their present homes.

In a communication addressed to the Committee, dated, Tunesassah, 5 mo. 24th, 1840, signed by ten chiefs, they say:—"Although the information of the ratification of the treaty is distressing to us, yet it is a satisfaction to hear from you, and to learn that you still remember us in our troubles, and are disposed to advise and assist us. The intelligence of the confirmation of the treaty caused many of our women to shed tears of sorrow. We are sensible that we stand in need of the advice of our friends. Our minds are unaltered on the subject of emigration." Another, dated Cold Spring, 12th mo. 8th, 1840, holds this language:—"Brothers, we continue to feel relative to the treaty as we have ever felt. We cannot regard it as an act of our nation, or hold it to be binding on us. We still consider that in justice the land is at this time as much our own as ever it was. We have done nothing to forfeit our right to it; and have come to a conclusion to remain upon it as long as we can enjoy it in peace. We trust in the Great Spirit: to Him we submit our cause."

A letter from the Senecas, residing at Tonawanda, was addressed to the Committee, from which the following extracts are taken:—

"By the help of the Great Spirit we have met in open council this 23d day of the 5th month, 1840, for the purpose of deliberating on the right course for us to pursue under the late act of the government of the United States relating to our lands. Brothers, we are in trouble; we have been told that the president has ratified a treaty by which these lands are sold from our possession. We look to you and solicit your advice and your sympathy, under the accumulating difficulties that now surround us. We feel more than ever our need of the help of the great and good Spirit to guide us aright. May his council ever preserve and direct us all in true wisdom.

"It is known to you, brothers, that at different times our people have been induced to cede, by stipulated treaties, to the government of the United States, various tracts of our territory, until it is so reduced that it barely affords us a home. We had hoped by these liberal concessions to secure the quiet and unmolested possession of this small residue, but we have abundant reason to fear that we have been mistaken. The agent and surveyor of a company of land speculators, known as the Ogden Company,

have been on here to lay out our land into lots, to be sold from us to the whites. We have protested against it, and have forbidden their proceeding.

"Brothers, what we want is that you should intercede with the United States government on our behalf. We do not want to leave our lands. We are willing that the emigrating party should sell out their rights, but we are not willing that they should sell ours.

"Brothers, we want the President of the United States to know that we are for peace; that we only ask the possession of our just rights. We have kept in good faith all our agreements with the government. In our innocence of any violation, we ask its protection; in our weakness we look to it for justice and mercy. We desire to live upon our lands in peace and harmony. We love Tonawanda. It is the residue left us of the land of our forefathers. We have no wish to leave it. Here are our cultivated fields, our houses, our wives and children, and our firesides —and here we wish to lay our bones in peace.

"Brothers, in conclusion, we desire to express our sincere thanks to you for your friendly assistance in times past, and at the same time earnestly solicit your further attention and advice. Brothers, may the Great Spirit befriend you all—farewell."

Desirous of rendering such aid as might be in our power, a correspondence has been held with some members of Congress, on the subject of the treaty, and other matters connected with it; and recently, two of our number visited Washington, and were assured by the present secretary of war, under whose immediate charge the Indian affairs are placed, that it was his determination and that of the other officers of the government, to give to the treaty and the circumstances attending its procurement, a thorough examination; and to adopt such a course respecting it as justice and humanity to the Indians would dictate.

The friends who have for several years resided at Tunesassah, still continue to occupy the farm, and have charge of the saw and grist mills, and other improvements. The farm during the past year has yielded about thirty-five tons of hay, two hundred bushels of potatoes, one hundred bushels of oats, and one hundred bushels of apples. Notwithstanding the unsettlement produced by the treaty during the past season, the Indians have raised an adequate supply of provisions to keep them comfortably during the year; and they manifest an increased desire to avoid the use of ardent spirits, and to have their children educated. In their letter of the 12th month last, the chiefs say,—"We are more engaged to have our children educated than we have heretofore been. There are at this time three schools in operation on this reservation for the instruction of our youth."

Our friend, Joseph Batty, in a letter dated 28th of 2nd mo. last, says: —"The Indians have held several temperance councils this winter. The chiefs (with the exception of two who were not present) have all signed a pledge to abstain from the use of all intoxicating liquors; and appear en-

gaged to bring about a reform among their people; but the influence of the whites among them is prejudicial to their improvement in this and other respects.

By direction of the Committee,

THOMAS WISTAR, Clerk.

Philadelphia, 4th month, 15th, 1841.

Extract from the Epistle of the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia, 1842.

The Report of our Committee for the gradual civilization and improvement of the Indian natives, a copy of which we herewith send you, will inform you of the present state of that interesting concern.

INDIAN REPORT.

Report of the Committee of the Yearly Meeting of Friends held in Philadelphia, appointed for the gradual Civilization, &c., of the Indian Natives, presented to the Meeting held from the 18th to the 22nd of the 4th month, 1842.

TO THE YEARLY MEETING.

The Committee for the gradual Civilization and Improvement of the Indian Natives, report, that during the past year they have given such attention to this interesting concern, as it appeared to require; and they have the satisfaction to believe that the labour and care of Friends continues to be acceptable and useful to these deeply injured people.

Soon after the last Yearly Meeting two of our number made a visit to Washington, had interviews with the President of the United States, and the Secretary of War, and endeavoured to give them correct information, as to the unjust means by which the treaty with the Seneca Indians had been procured, as well as to inculcate feelings of sympathy toward that people. Our friends were kindly received, and assurances given them that the treaty, and the circumstances attending its procurement, should be closely scrutinized, and such measures pursued, in relation to it, as justice and humanity would dictate. Soon after this, the Secretary of War retired from office; and no opportunity has yet been had with his successor. By information recently received from one of the senators at Washington, it appears that no measures have yet been taken by the government to carry the treaty into effect, and the hope is entertained that some means may yet be devised to avert the oppression and injustice which would arise from its execution.

The farm and other concerns at Tunesassah, continued under the care of

our friends Joseph and Rebecca Batty, until the 10th month last; when they were released at their own suggestion, and our friend Robert Scottin, believing it might be right for him to spend some further time in promoting the welfare of the natives, and having the approbation of the Committee, as well as that of his friends at home, took charge of the property at the settlement; and, we believe, is usefully employed there.

Many of the Indians continue to pursue their agricultural business with considerable industry and judgment, and procure a comfortable subsistence for themselves and families from the products of the soil. There has been a manifest improvement of late years in the character of their dwellings, many of them having erected good frame-houses, well finished, with glass windows and panneled doors, and some of them painted white, presenting a very neat and respectable appearance; and there is reason to believe that this would become more general, if it were not for the fear which possesses many of their minds, lest, after having expended their time and labour for these objects, they should soon be driven away, and compelled to surrender to others the enjoyments of the fruits of their industry. The same feeling operates as a discouragement to improving their lands; and it is obvious, that their present unsettled state retards both their moral and social improvement.

They have recently manifested increased interest on the subject of education, being desirous of having their children instructed, and also of promoting temperance and sobriety among their nation; and have used considerable efforts to accomplish these ends.

In the autumn of last year two of our number made a visit to the settlement at Tunesassah, and held a council with the natives, in which a letter from the Committee was read to them, and some other advice imparted. Blacksnake, an aged chief, in replying, expressed their thankfulness for the kindness and care of Friends. He said, the counsel given them had sunk into their hearts; that it was a long time since Friends first came forward and helped the Indians; and that often, since then, they had stood by them, and befriended them in the time of their extremity. That the chiefs were very desirous to promote industrious and sober habits among the people; and that care was now being taken for that purpose, and to induce them to desist from the use of ardent spirits; and many of the people had taken the advice given them, but others were still intemperate. Another chief said, that they were engaged in building a school-house, which they had hoped to finish that fall; but the labour having principally devolved on a few, and they being otherwise very much engaged, it was doubtful. It was stated by another, that the opposition to education had now very much subsided, and many of the people were very desirous to have a Quaker teacher to instruct their children for a time; after which it might be done by their own people. They all evinced much satisfaction at the prospect of having their old friend, Robert Scotten, to reside among them again;

and the Committee believed that the visit made them tended to renew and brighten the chain of friendship, and to increase their kindness and confidence towards Friends.

A letter received from Robert Scotten, dated 2nd of 12th month last, remarks, "The Allegheny Indians had a council at Cold Spring, on 6th of last month, to promote temperance among their people. They appeared earnest for the cause, and unanimous. The council was attended by men and women, and was the largest I remember to have seen at the place. Large as it was, I did not hear of any drunken Indian at the time of holding it, or since, at the village or elsewhere. They have had meetings since on the subject, and there is a concern among them to advise and persuade their people to decline the use of ardent spirits as a drink. The natives have gathered a good crop of corn and potatoes, and some other grain, and are about killing their hogs. They appear pretty well furnished with provisions for the coming year."

Another letter, dated 7th of 2nd month, gives the following information, viz. "Peter Crouse, (a half-bred Indian,) opened school in the fore-part of 12th month last, and continued it but a short time, being taken sick. Application was made to King Peirce, (an Indian,) to teach the school, and he acceded to it without much loss of time, and has given close attention thereto. He keeps good order in the school, the children improve in their learning, and their parents are satisfied with him as a teacher. It is attended by from fifteen to twenty children.

"The natives continue their concern to promote temperance among their people. They have frequently held councils on the subject in different parts of the reservation, and appointed sober men and women to watch over and advise those who are not so. I think it would be safe to say that their care and labour have not been lost, as the fruits of it appear in the conduct of the Indians, especially about the village of Cold Spring."

In contemplating the difficulties which seem to be accumulating around these poor people, and the encroachments of the white population upon their soil, and upon their rights, and how little their sorrows and sufferings appear to awaken the commiseration, or call forth the aid of many who have the power to relieve them, we feel that their situation demands the continued care of Friends, and that they have strong claims upon our sympathy, as children of the one universal Parent.

By an examination of the account of our treasurer, it appears that he has received for interest, &c. the sum of $\$2229\frac{6}{100}$, and has paid $\$286\frac{69}{100}$, leaving a balance of cash on hand of $\$1942\frac{37}{100}$, beside which there are bonds and mortgages in his possession, and drawing interest, amounting to $\$5900$.

Signed, on behalf, and by direction of the Committee, Philadelphia, 4th mo. 14th, 1842.

THOMAS EVANS, Clerk.

Other particulars, of an agreeable nature, relating to the Indians in the United States, have reached us through the medium of a letter from our friend Stephen Grellett, of Burlington, New Jersey, to William Allen; in which he states, that John Meader, of New England, a minister in our society, is gone on a religious visit to the Indian tribes west of the Mississippi; and that the American government had evinced a disposition to promote the prospects of John Meader, by furnishing him, at Washington, with documents addressed to the Indians and public functionaries resident among them, commending him, and the objects of his visit, in strong terms, to their notice. John D. Long and Samuel Taylor, jun., both Friends in the station of ministers, have, we are also informed, under a sense of religious duty, offered their services to promote the concerns of the Yearly Meeting of Friends of New England, and by a visit to the Indians located in the territory west of the Mississippi, and to those situated in the north, thoroughly to investigate the situation of the various tribes in those parts; in order to ascertain the course it may be most desirable for that Yearly Meeting to pursue, most availingly to render them assistance. We understand that these two friends intended to enter upon their arduous engagement in the 8th month last.

The following documents are those which the American government furnished to our friend John Meader.

To the Superintendents of Indian affairs, the Agents, Sub-Agents, and other Officers connected with the administration of Indian affairs, Civil and Military.

The bearer hereof, John Meader, an approved minister of the orthodox Society of Friends, proposes to pay a visit to the different Indian tribes to the west and south-west. He is prompted to this undertaking by a sense of religious obligation and a strong desire to extend the knowledge of Christian principles and duty among these wards of government; and in intimate connexion therewith to advance their acquaintance with sound morals; to urge upon them the necessity of their engaging in agricultural pursuits, the adoption of the manners and habits of civilized life; and, as indispensable to success in any, or all of these steps in improvement—the observance of strict temperance.

This Friend is highly commended. He will require the countenance and protection of the different officers of the department, and facilities for his intercourse with the several tribes he may visit. You will please to receive him kindly, and to afford him every reasonable opportunity of addressing and conferring with the objects of his philanthropic exertions.

It is the desire of the department that he shall have all the protection, aid, and facility to extend his benevolent purposes that you can respectively furnish him, and with that view he is commended in the strongest terms to your notice.

Signed, T. HARTLEY CRAWFORD,
Commissioner of Indian Affairs.
JOHN C. SPENCER, Secretary of War.

Washington, May 13th, 1842.

ADDRESS TO THE INDIANS.

FRIENDS AND BROTHERS,

John Meader, a minister of the society known by the name of Quakers, goes among you on an errand of love and mercy. He has undertaken a long and toilsome journey, because he believes the Great Spirit will be pleased, if he can succeed in persuading you to look to the God who made the red man, as well as the white.

Without this dependence no people can be happy or prosperous. The history of the world proves, that the nation which forgets religious duty soon loses sight of all other obligations, and withers and falls into misfortune.

He intends to talk with you also about dealing justly with each other, paying what you owe; and will show you that you ought not to injure or take each other's property, or that of the white man; that you should plough and hoe your land, and plant or sow seed in it; build houses, and live like white men.

The great evil and destroyer of the human race is whiskey. You cannot prosper in any undertaking without refusing to taste, touch, or handle this unclean thing.

Your white brethren are so well convinced of this truth, that a great change has come over them in this respect. It is considered among them to be unmanly and disgraceful to use fire-waters; and they have formed societies to encourage each other in the observance of temperate habits and sober lives.

If this good man talks to you on this important subject, listen to him,

follow his advice, and you will soon discern how just and true it is, that to have comfortable houses, good farms, obedient children, and happiness at your firesides, it is necessary to be sober.

Signed, T. HARTLEY CRAWFORD,
Commissioner of Indian Affairs.
JOHN C. SPENCER, Secretary of War.

May 13th, 1842.

Extract of a Letter from Pennsylvania, dated 8 mo. 15, 1842.

Our Indian concern remains much as when I last wrote: the new bargain is about to be carried into operation. The Indians are to give up Buffalo and Tonawanda reservations, by far the most valuable, and to be allowed to retain Cattarangus and Alleghany. It is a hard case, a most unjust measure altogether. I fear that as soon as the holders of the pre-emption right sell out what they thus get, they will renew their claims for the rest: in fact they declare as much.

Extract of a Letter from New York, dated 8 mo. 31, 1842.

Those devoted Friends, John D. Long and Samuel Taylor, jun. passed through our city last second day, on their way to the Indian country. They intend to be present at Ohio Yearly Meeting; then to proceed on to those tribes situated at the north, not far, probably, from the British boundaries; then travel south as far as Red River, on the borders of Texas. They expect to be absent from four to six months. They are in good health, and seem wholly given up to this important and arduous labour of love. The government have encouraged them by handing suitable documents to show to military posts on their way, if they should need any help of this kind by guides, &c. through the wilds of America.

Extract of a Letter from a Friend of Philadelphia, dated the 18th of the 8th month, 1842.

Our friend Christopher Healey is now on a visit to the Indians in Michigan, and some of the other western states. An account from him states, that on reaching a settlement in Michigan, he felt deeply tried in mind, and he was almost ready to doubt whether he had not mistaken his duty in coming; but hearing of an aged Indian woman, whom he visited some years previous, at a settlement called Brotherstown, he went to see her. She remarked, that it seemed like presumption for a poor woman,

like her, to speak; but she believed it right to say, that she felt it a great favour that her dear aged brother was sent to visit them again; that what he had said, when amongst them before, was the everlasting gospel. It had brought conviction to her mind, which had ever since remained sealed there: they were truths which would do to live by, and die by. She hoped his labours would be blessed to their young people. She believed his day's work (as well as her own) was nearly finished, and she hoped his mantle would fall on the young men who were with him, as the mantle of Elijah fell on Elisha, with much more to the same import. He remarked, every doubt of the propriety of the journey was removed. She has meetings held regularly at her house on first and fifth-day mornings since his first visit.

How consoling to see his labours of love so blessed to these poor persecuted children of the forest!

Some interesting information relating to the tribe of the Cherokee Indians will be found in the following extract from a letter from Thomas Kimber. This powerful and intelligent portion of the native Indian population of the United States, by the policy of General Jackson, have been forced from the land of their forefathers to a strange and unknown country, far remote in the west; in their transmission to which it is said that no less than seven hundred have perished. It is with feelings of much regret that the Committee have heard, that although the Cherokees have submitted to the unrighteous mandate of the Federal Government, by removing from their native soil, in opposition to their unalterable attachment to it, by which many millions of acres of land have been added to the territories conceded by the Indians, military posts are proposed to be established, which are likely to lead to the introduction of white settlers to the territory which the Indians at present occupy, and which they were given to understand, by the advocates for their removal, would be their lasting and final location.

Extract of a Letter from Thomas Kimber to Isaac Collins, dated Philadelphia, 22nd of 8th month, 1842.

I have just had a very interesting interview with Jesse Busheyhead, a half-blood Cherokee, very intelligent and well educated, one of the deputation recently sent to Washington, to urge the claim of that injured tribe to further indemnity for the losses sustained by their expulsion from Georgia.

I was much gratified with his description of their present condition and prospects. He says they have adopted, in open council, a regular and very good constitution, guaranteeing to them a republican form of government, and trial by jury, and enjoining, as a requisite for public office, a belief in one God, and in a future state of rewards and punishments. They elect, by ballot, a president and vice-president; or, as they call them, a principal and second chief, who hold their office for a term of four years; also a legislative council and committee, or an upper and a lower house, for a term of two years each. They number about 20,000 souls. They have several churches, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, and Lutheran; First-day schools; temperance laws, prohibiting the introduction and sale of ardent spirits, which, however, are still forced upon them, or clandestinely introduced by the whites, resident at and near the forts which our government persist in maintaining on their confines, notwithstanding their earnest entreaties to have them removed. They have almost wholly abandoned the chase, and depend for support on agriculture and the mechanic arts, which they are cultivating with energy and success. Steam-boats run on the Arkansas river, through their settlement to New Orleans, which is their principal market for their produce. They have generally assumed our costume, and adopted the English language in all their official and public proceedings, and teach it principally in their schools. Their lands, which are of good quality, are held in severalty, and may be conveyed by deed, or inherited by their legal heirs, but cannot be sold to strangers; this is the only restriction to the entire control of them. Their territory is bounded by that of the Choctaws, containing a population of about 12,000, and that of the Creeks, containing about 20,000; both of which tribes are also making rapid advances in civilization. And Jesse admitted freely, that many of the Cherokees were agreeably disappointed in regard to the advantages of their present location; and that the injustice and oppression that had been inflicted on them by the American Government, might be so overruled as ultimately to promote their best interests.

Although, in past years, some arrangements were made for the admission of Indian delegates, as representatives of their tribes in Congress, yet this desirable object seems to have been frustrated, and it does not appear that any steps have latterly been taken to secure for the Indian population, a representation in the government of the country of which they form an important section.

Turning now from these tribes, which are within the United States, to those within the British possessions,

we find that the aboriginal inhabitants of Nova Scotia, known as the little tribe of Micmac Indians, cut off by their geographical position from intercourse with other Indian races of the American continent, and confined within boundaries insufficient for the supply of their wants, have, by a deputation from their body, laid their case before the colonial office, and their reception by Lord Stanley, the head of that department, encourages us to hope that their case will claim the attention of the government on their behalf.

Of the numerous tribes of Indians inhabiting the north-west of America, in the vicinity of Columbia river, the annexed communication, addressed by Herbert Beaver, a friend of Thomas Clarkson's and late chaplain at the Hudson's Bay Company's settlement on the river Columbia, to the Committee of the Aborigines' Protection Society, conveying important information respecting these natives, adds another to the already numerous and melancholy proofs of the ruinous consequences which have ensued to the Indian races, on that continent, by contact with those who, professing as they do the name of Jesus, should have proved as their friends and brethren, and instructors in righteousness; but respecting whom we fear that the language of the apostle is but too applicable: "The name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles through you."

Letter of Herbert Beaver, relating to the Indians on the north-west coast of America, to the Committee of the Aborigines' Protection Society.

GENTLEMEN,

I proceed to furnish you with such information respecting the present condition of the Indians on the north-west coast of America, more particularly as it is affected by their intercourse with foreigners, as I was enabled to obtain during a residence of more than two years, in the capacity of chaplain, at the Hudson's Bay Company's settlements on the river Columbia. I resided at Fort Vancouver, the Company's principal depôt west of the Rocky Mountains, from the beginning of September, 1836, to the end of October, 1838, and during that time had ample opportunities of observing the moral, social, political, and intellectual state of

our red brethren in its neighbourhood. From time to time I reported, to the Governor and Committee of the Company in England, and to the Governor and Council of the Company abroad, the result of my observations, with a view to the gradual amelioration of the wretched degradation with which I was surrounded, by an immediate attempt at the introduction of civilization and Christianity among one or more of the aboriginal tribes; but my earnest representations were neither attended to nor acted upon; no means were placed at my disposal, for carrying out the plans which I suggested.

I also became acquainted with many acts of cruelty and murder committed upon natives, by persons in the Company's service, some of which I narrated by letter to the Deputy Governor of the Company at home, and to the Governor of the Company's foreign possessions, in the hope that a stop might be put to the recurrence of these horrible atrocities; but from both I incurred a rebuke for my *undue* interference in matters which did not professionally concern me. I therefore rejoice in an opportunity afforded me by the Aborigines' Society, of bringing to light some of those hidden things of darkness, as well as of making public some statements regarding the interesting people among whom I so long sojourned, in order that humanity and religion may alike be roused to prevent their oppression and promote their salvation.

Although the trade in peltry is undoubtedly one of the grand means of civilizing and evangelizing the North American Indians, and although the Hudson's Bay Company, in whose name and interests those of the North West Company have merged, owes its entire prosperity, nay, its very existence, to commerce with the natives of the well-nigh unlimited territory over which it exercises a nearly uncontrolled sway, yet little has hitherto been done by the Company on the east side of the Rocky Mountains, and nothing on the west side, towards advancing in the scale of creation the innumerable tribes of untold rational and immortal beings, whose most important destinies have for the last hundred and seventy years been placed in its hands.

Of the state of the aboriginal inhabitants of the eastern side of the continent, considerable intelligence has, through various channels, been communicated; none, or but little authentic, of that of those of the western; and it is only with reference to a small part of these that I can now offer the result of personal inquiry.

Taking Fort Vancouver as the centre of a circle, having one of its radii extending to the sea, about ninety miles distant, there are within the circumference, about twelve distinct tribes of Indians, each speaking a different language and comprising an average of two hundred souls; with two of these, the Chinook and Klickatack, I was most conversant, having freely mixed with them on many occasions, as some of both were continually in the vicinity of the fort. In manners and customs these tribes differ essen-

tially from each other, and as a similarity in these respects to one or other of them exists among the neighbouring tribes, I conceive that an account of them may serve as a tolerable guide to an acquaintance with those of whom I could obtain but a scanty personal knowledge, from their not so much frequenting the post at which I was stationed during my residence in the country.

The Chinook is a fishing tribe, dwelling on the banks of the river, and using canoes; the Klickatack is a hunting tribe, dwelling in the plains, and using horses. The latter is a much finer race than the former, both in appearance and disposition. The common dress of the Chinooks, both male and female, is a blanket, to which the females add a kilt or short petticoat, while the Klickatack men are seldom seen without a capot shirt, and pair of leggings, and the women are not unfrequently clothed in coarse cloth gowns. The Chinook women wear nothing on their heads, and those of the men are often without a covering: but the female Klickatack has always a cap of plaited grass, and the male one of fur or some other material. The arms and accoutrements of the one are also kept in a much more cleanly and efficient style than are those of the other. The persons too of the Klickatacks, both men and women, are far more pleasing than those of the Chinooks, who from squatting continually in their canoes, on their heels, (the posture of paddling) contract a habit of stooping, and a very inactive gait, while the others are upright, and walk with an elastic step. The figures of the Chinook women are often disgustingly obese; those of the Kilkatack are generally straight, and sometimes almost beautiful.

But the greatest point of difference between the two tribes relates to their moral qualities. The Chinooks, in consequence of their greater intercourse with sailors, and the other lower servants of the Company, are excessively depraved. Their women, especially, are as accomplished courtesans as any upon the face of the whole earth: inferior to none in profligacy, disease, and extravagance. No instance came to my knowledge, or at least but one, and that uncertain, of a Klickatack woman misconducting herself with a white man. It is true that polygamy is practised by both tribes, and that capricious divorces sometimes take place; but this is a native custom, in which they know no harm, and vastly to be distinguished from those exotic vices, which have been implanted in the aboriginal soil.

Among crimes which are certainly not indigenous, infanticide stands foremost. It is committed by the mother, or at her desire, but never when an Indian is the father, generally in consequence of the desertion of t white father. Abortion is likewise resorted to with the design of not ting him to the expense and trouble of maintaining his offspring. unhallowed connexions, which lead to these crimes, are perm encouraged by the Company, who might easily restrain them in Indian women living with their natural husbands is of m

that of those living with the lower servants of the Company notoriously common. Of its dreadful effects let the records of the hospital at Vancouver testify. Nor are the ravages of the malady alluded to confined to that spot, I believe that the blood of the whole Chinook race is tainted with it, and that through the agency of sailors it is disseminated along the coast for hundreds of miles, and perpetuated at the other posts of the Company.

While the tide of demoralization thus overspreads with irresistible violence the only regions where he can at present exist, the efforts of the missionary must be feeble, if not altogether useless. It is an observation, never more truly exemplified than at the Company's settlements, that wherever the Gospel has been carried among modern heathen nations, there, simultaneously, has vice, before unknown, been imported; and that the lives of the professors of Christianity are the most fatal hindrances to its being embraced by even the most uncultivated savages. The Indians, with whom I conversed, were, for the most part, intelligent and argumentative, and drew conclusions, not from what they heard, but from what they saw; and assuredly they saw no recommendation of religion in the example of the generality of the Company's servants, with whom its precepts seemed to be in almost total abeyance.

One great cause of the immorality at the place where I was stationed, and a consequent barrier to the improvement and conversion of the Indians, was the holding of some of them in a state of slavery by persons of all classes in the Company's service, and by those who have retired from it, and become settlers on the rivers Willamette and Cowlitye, but over whom the Company retain authority. The whole number of these wretched beings amounted to between eighty and ninety. They were miserably clothed and fed, nor was it possible that they could receive any instruction while they continued in their very degraded condition. I knew some of them to be flogged by order of the officer in charge of the establishment, and others to be cruelly ill-used by their owners. The women themselves, who were living with the lower class of the Company's servants, were much in the condition of slaves, being purchased of their Indian proprietors or relations, and not unfrequently resold amongst each other by their purchasers. But I forbear to add more upon this part of my subject, having communicated full information respecting it to the Committee of the Anti-slavery Convention, by whom my communication has been published.

Besides these standing evils, to which the Aborigines are subjected by their intercourse with the Hudson's Bay Company, several most atrocious outrages, committed upon them by persons in the Company's service, came to my knowledge. Soon after my arrival at Vancouver I was informed by many persons, one of whom had nearly been an eye-witness of the transaction, having been invited to assist in holding down the unhappy sufferer, that in the month of February 1835, a most infamous outrage, which cannot here be more particularly described, was committed upon the

person of an Indian, not however as a necessary surgical operation, by the surgeon of the establishment, but with the connivance and permission, if no by the order of the officer in charge.

About the middle of the summer 1836, and shortly before my arrival at Vancouver, six Indians were wantonly and gratuitously murdered by a party of trappers and sailors, who landed for the purpose from one of the Company's vessels on the coast somewhere between the mouth of the river Columbia and the confines of California. Having on a former occasion read the particulars of this horrid massacre, as I received them from an eye-witness, before a meeting of the Aborigines' Society, I will not now repeat them. To my certain knowledge the circumstance was brought officially before the authorities of Vancouver, by whom no notice was taken of it, and the same party of trappers, with the same leader, one of the most infamous murderers of a murderous fraternity, is annually sent to the same vicinity to perform, if they please, other equally tragic scenes. God alone knows how many red men's lives have been sacrificed by them since the time of which I have been speaking. He also knows that I speak the conviction of my mind, and may He forgive me if I speak unadvisedly, when I state my firm belief that the life of an Indian was never yet by a trapper put in competition with a beaver's skin! The very way in which the Aborigines are spoken of by the trappers and leaders of trapping parties goes far to prove the correctness of my assertion. "Those d—d," "those rascally," "those treacherous" Indians, are the unmerited appellations, by which the race is universally designated.

In the former part of the same year, I was credibly informed, that the same party killed one Indian, wounded another, supposed mortally, and threw a child into a fire, in consequence of a quarrel respecting a knife, which was afterwards found upon one of themselves. And during the year before, they put four Indians to death for stealing their horses, which might be pleaded as some excuse for the brutality, but that they afterwards killed ten or twelve more in cold blood, and set fire to their village. The Indians lived in such constant dread of this party, that they were unable to descend into the plains from their fastnesses in the mountains, to procure their usual modes of subsistence. Do not these things imperatively demand inquiry and interference? Is not such treatment as I have narrated of their red brethren unbecoming to persons who profess the religion of the Prince of Peace, and to persons, who, ignorant themselves of the precepts of Christianity, may be in the service of such professors? Yet these acts are not only committed and winked at, but opportunities are even furnished for their recurrence. It should never be forgotten that the Hudson's Bay Company are but as invaders of the soil, on which these excesses are committed by their servants, and that as such, the least they can do is to restrain all unnecessary violence towards the rightful possessors, both of it and of the furs which it produces, not for the benefit of the Aborigines, but for

the promotion of far distant mercantile interests. If it be asserted that resistance against Indian aggression is indispensable, or that retaliation is necessary to insure future safety, I maintain that the white man has no right to intrude himself into a country against the wishes of its inhabitants. If it be said that they make no use, or not a proper use, of its productions, I would ask, have they not a right to do what they will with their own? But I apprehend that if the Indian had always been treated as he ought to have been by the white man, he would never have resorted to acts of violence to expel from his country him, whom constant ill-usage has taught him to regard as his natural enemy. And with respect to the furs of that country, to rob their lawful owner of them, by taking possession of them, either with no payment, or a most inadequate one, is surely not a legitimate method of teaching him their proper use and value. Of articles bartered by the Company for peltry and other native produce, one half may be classed as useless, one quarter as pernicious, and the remainder as of doubtful utility; for I cannot but consider of very questionable utility, in the real sense of the word, even that clothing, for which the natives are servilely dependent on the Company, and for which they have long since discarded the vestments which their own country spontaneously affords.

Were I to dilate upon the ruinous consequences to our red brethren, which have ensued upon their intercourse with whites, and to narrate all I heard and knew of their ill-usage by the latter, I should far exceed the limits of this communication. I have attempted to embody the information, of which I am possessed in a publication which I hope will soon be ready for the press. In the mean time I have to express my readiness to reply most fully and freely to any inquiries which may be made with a view to ameliorate the condition of the Aborigines of the north-west coast; nor may it be irrelevant from the designs of a society formed for their protection, if I were to state some facts relative to that of the Sandwich islanders in the Company's service.

There is a considerable number of them in the service scattered all over the continent, from twelve to twenty being imported about every other year from their native country, which is three or four weeks' sail from the Columbia River, and few ever returning home again. Their condition is little better than that of slavery, being subject to all the imperious treatment which their employers may think fit to lay on them, whether by flogging, imprisonment, or otherwise, without a possibility of obtaining redress. Each of them, before embarkation in their own country, receives a small advance of money, part of which their chiefs seize as a bonus for permitting them to have it, and for relinquishing all future claim to their services. The remainder is usually squandered; so that when they arrive in a colder climate they are destitute of adequate clothing, the supply of which generally consumed the whole of their wages for the first year. Nor are they afterwards able to save much of these, for all their necessaries are charged

at the rate of one hundred per cent. upon the invoice price, that is, double the value of the goods in England; whereas only fifty per cent. addition to the prime cost is charged to the other servants of the Company. This difference is made in order to compensate the Company for the nominal payments to the Sandwich islanders of higher wages, than are given to their other servants of the same class. While others receive seventeen pounds per annum *they* receive thirty pounds, or ten dollars per month; by which tempting offer this simple but amiable people are induced to enter the service. In reality, therefore, they are worse paid than others, although their ignorance of the value of money, and their confiding disposition, prevent them from being cognizant of the deception and imposition thus shamelessly practised upon them.

But these are not all the grievances of which they have to complain. During my residence at Vancouver, one of them was confined there in irons for the space of five months and four days, during which he was never released from his handcuffs, and this for *no fault at all* only for a *supposed* dereliction of duty, which afterwards turned out not to be the case. At the commencement of his imprisonment for the same imputed offence, he received forty lashes on his bare back; and during the continuance of it he was attacked with intermittent faver, which being reported to the officer in charge of the establishment, his humane reply was, "Let him shake and be d—d!" nor was the poor fellow released from his irons even under that afflictive circumstance. The same man had been flogged on a previous occasion for accidentally losing a canoe, the value of which was charged against his account, being thus made to pay for the same fault, if it was one, both in his person and in his pocket.

I knew another Sandwich islander to be severely flogged, though bearing a general good character, for making a trifling mistake, unattended by any injury to the service, with respect to some orders which he had received, and which, from his ignorance of the language in which they were conveyed, he probably had not understood. I knew another die in the hospital, as was generally supposed, in consequence of a wound inflicted on his head by the commander of one of the Company's vessels. His countrymen made a complaint to the officer in charge, by whom it was not entertained, nor was any investigation instituted. The surgeon affirmed that he died of apoplexy. I will not put my judgment in competition with the professional; I will only state, that from the time when the poor man came into the hospital until that of his death, which was several days, he was continually convulsed, having a sort of paralytic motion, or catching of the head and neck.

In the year 1832, as I was informed by the commander of the vessel in which he was proceeding to his native country, as well as by several others, a Sandwich islander died on board, and that his death was attributed to a flogging which he had received for stealing a pig. But I have said enough to prove the oppression practised towards these helpless people. Perhaps

the most deplorable part of their condition is that they soon lose the Christian instruction which has been imparted to them by their excellent missionaries at home ; they revert to the abominable practices of their idolatrous times, and form connexions with the Indians, to whose level they speedily sink. On my second visit to Oahu, I had the satisfaction, in consequence of my representations and those of some of their subjects who had returned, of learning that the king and the chiefs had issued a decree that no more of them should enter the Company's service. How long cupidity may permit the observance of this decree, I am unable to conjecture; but even should it be acted upon, there will still remain in the Company's service a sufficient number, with their offspring, of those interesting islanders to attract the attention of the humane.

Should the society desire it, I shall have much pleasure in communicating the plans which I have suggested, and which I should wish to see adopted, for the improvement of their condition, and likewise for the improvement of that of some of the aboriginal tribes of the north-west coast, particularly the Klickatack, to which I chiefly directed my attention and that of the Company, as being most likely to benefit by missionary enterprise.

Since writing the above, I have learned from good authority that in the month of August 1840, an Indian was hanged near the mouth of the Columbia river, and several others shot, and their village set on fire, by a party in the employment of the Hudson's Bay Company, under the command of chief factor M'Loughlin, who led them from Fort Vancouver; thus indiscriminately to revenge the death of a man, who lost his life in an affray while curing salmon. (Signed) HERBERT BEAVER.

Since the writing of this letter, Herbert Beaver has gone to reside in South Africa, and the further communications to which he alludes have not as yet been received. It must also be stated, that since the period to which the letter above quoted relates, an extension of missionary settlements in the Indian country has taken place under the auspices of the Hudson Bay Company; that Governor Sir George Simpson has traversed the continent of North America from east to west, and there is reason to hope that an improvement in the treatment of the Indians may be the result of his attention to the subject. It is, however, of vital importance that attention be kept alive to this subject, both for the purpose of interesting those who may have any influence in that quarter, and of eliciting information from a part of the globe regarding which very little transpires.

NEW HOLLAND.

Respecting the natives of Australia we are in possession of information of a gloomy character. It has been with feelings of a painful nature we have noticed that the accounts from this country contain many instances of cruel barbarity, committed both by the natives and the colonists, in which great destruction of property and loss of life have taken place, but which, it is considered, have fallen in the proportion of at least forty to one on the incensed Aborigines. The following extract from a paper, which we have before us, contains an allusion to some of the causes which have led to these deplorable events, and by which it is evident that these occurrences have arisen from wrongs inflicted on these poor ignorant people by the white settlers, viz.

"That the Aborigines have been losers, instead of gainers, by the settlement of the whites amongst them, is beyond dispute; they have contracted, if not all the vices of the Europeans, at least many of them, and none of their virtues. From their mixing with only the basest of mankind what other can be expected than their being contaminated? Instead of being even partially civilized, the only advantages bestowed on them by their brethren of the white skin, is the rendering their hunting-grounds useless to them, and of having taught them habits of lying, pilfering, swearing, drinking, and smoking, and of having had entailed on them and their offspring the most loathsome diseases. This description does not apply in all cases; yet, generally speaking, it is but too accurate. Where the blacks have had little or no intercourse with the whites, you will find them more robust in their persons, more independent in their bearing, and altogether free from those detestable practices that have enfeebled and brutalized their brethren. They have been accused of murder and the destruction of the property of the settlers; but it is not of that alarming character as made out—in fact, the contrary is the case; for it is well known that ten blacks are murdered for one white. That the blacks, from sheer necessity, are driven to spear some of the settlers' cattle is true; yet, to the candid reader this will be matter of no surprise, when he recollects that the savage considers the white man as the wrongful possessor of his country, and that instead of receiving any benefit therefrom, fatal experience has taught him that wherever the print of the European appears, he must either remain to starve or fall back upon some hostile tribe, which he either exterminates or by which he is exterminated. Which of these evils shall he choose? The kangaroo and the emu forsake the plains and the forests, wherever the

herds and flocks break ground. The writer says, he was one day asked by a native of the Maneroo country for something to eat, at the same time remarking, with a most pitiful expression of countenance, "You see, massa, all about here belong to black fellow long time ago. Plenty emu, and tousand, tousand kangaroo. Gumbukku luck, dundial com and drive kangarao and emu all away. Poor fellow—black fellow." These were the very words. Let but one consider, that in spite of all the boasted philanthropy of England, the natives of New Holland, instead of being either civilized or Christianized, after an intercourse of more than half a century, are now in a more deplorable state than when this vast continent was a blank on the world's map. It is absurd to suppose that miracles can be wrought, and that the untamed savage should become, all at once, versed in the knowledge and arts of civilized men. No, that cannot be done; but much could by such a people as Britons. But what has been done to better the condition of these children of nature? Absolutely nothing. It has been argued that they are so wedded to their savage mode of life that they will not relinquish it for any other; and also, that there is manifest intellectual incapacity in them to receive instruction. As regards the former assertion, why such is always the case with savage tribes. What were the ancestors of polished England previous to the Roman invasion? In a state of society little removed from that of the New Hollander. As to the latter, it is denied that there is any such mental incapacity as to prevent them from becoming, in time, intelligent and useful members of the community. This is apparent to every one who has had opportunities of observing the shrewdness and natural quickness of observation they possess in a high degree. Where the experiment has been tried, to educate any of them, it has perfectly succeeded: all are not apt alike, but this cannot be expected; there is a wide-spread prejudice afloat on this subject, at home and abroad."

It would have been gratifying to the Committee to have been able to state, that the natives in our colonies in this distant region, had been admitted to the rights of citizenship, and that they were allowed to be received as competent witnesses in criminal cases; but we are concerned to observe that this is denied them—a practical evil, by which the ends of justice, as respects the natives, are frustrated. Annexed we subjoin the highly interesting and important report of Captain Grey to Lord John Russell, as Secretary for the Colonies, prior to his assuming the government of South Australia; which report, we understand, has been recommended by Lord John Russell to the governors of the various colonies, as well as New Zealand. One very interesting fea-

ture in this report is, the importance which Captain Grey attaches to the receiving of the evidence of natives, without an oath, in courts of law; their ignorance of the nature of which has hitherto been made the plea for excluding them from giving their evidence in a court of justice, and which they consider as a great hardship, and against which Friends have repeatedly remonstrated at the Colonial Office.

Report of Captain Grey, Governor of South Australia, entitled, A Report upon the best Means of promoting the Civilization of the Aboriginal Inhabitants of Australia.

1. The Aborigines of Australia have hitherto resisted all the efforts which have been made for their civilization. It would appear, that if they are capable of being civilized, it can be shown that all the systems on which these efforts have been founded contained some common error, or that each of them involved some erroneous principles. The former supposition appears to be the true one; for they all contained one element—they all started with one recognised principle, the presence of which in the scheme must necessarily have entailed its failure.

2. This principle was, that although the natives should, as far as European property and European subjects were concerned, be made amenable to British laws, yet, so long as they only exercised their own customs upon themselves, and not too immediately in the presence of Europeans, they should be allowed to do so with impunity.

3. This principle originates in philanthropic motives, and a total ignorance of the peculiar traditional laws of this people; which laws, differing from those of any other known race, have necessarily imparted to the people subject to them a character different from all other races, and hence arises the anomalous state in which they have been found.

4. They are as apt and intelligent as any other race of men I am acquainted with: they are subject to the same affections, appetites, and passions as other men; yet, in many points of character they are totally dissimilar to them; and, from the peculiar code of laws of this people, it would appear not only impossible that any nation subject to them could ever emerge from a savage state, but even that no race, however highly endowed, however civilized, could in other respects remain long in a state of civilization, if they were submitted to the operation of such barbarous customs.

5. The plea generally set up in defence of this principle is, that the natives of this country are a conquered people, and that it is an act of generosity to allow them the full power of exercising their own laws upon themselves: but this plea would appear to be inadmissible; for, in the first

place, savage and traditional customs should not be confounded with a regular code of laws: and, secondly, where Great Britain ensures to a conquered country the privilege of preserving its own laws, all persons resident in this territory become amenable to the same laws, and proper persons are selected by the Government to watch over their due and equitable administration. Nothing of this kind either exists or can exist with regard to the customs of the natives of Australia. Between these two cases, then, there is no apparent analogy.

6. I would submit, therefore, that it is necessary, from the moment the Aborigines of this country are declared British subjects, they should, as far as possible, be taught that the British laws are to supersede their own; so that any native who is suffering under their own customs may have the power of an appeal to those of Great Britain: or, to put this in its true light, that all authorised persons should, in all instances, be required to protect a native from the violence of his fellows, even though they be in the execution of their own laws.

7. So long as this is not the case, the older natives have at their disposal the means of effectually preventing the civilization of any individuals of their own tribes; and those among them who may be inclined to adapt themselves to the European habits and mode of life will be deterred from so doing, by their fear of the consequences that the displeasure of others may draw down upon them.

8. So much importance am I disposed to attach to this point, that I do not hesitate to assert my full conviction, that whilst those tribes which are in communication with Europeans are allowed to execute their barbarous laws and customs upon one another, so long will they remain hopelessly immersed in their present state of barbarism: and however unjust such a proceeding might at first sight appear, I believe that the course pointed out by true humanity would be, to make them, from the very commencement, amenable to the British laws, both as regards themselves and Europeans; for I hold it to be imagining a contradiction, to suppose that individuals subject to savage and barbarous laws can rise into a state of civilization which those laws have a manifest tendency to destroy and overturn.

9. I have known many instances of natives who have been almost or quite civilized being compelled by other natives to return to the bush; more particularly girls, who have been betrothed in their infancy, and who, on approaching the years of puberty, have been compelled by their husbands to join them.

10. It is difficult to ascertain the exact effect the institutions of a country produce upon the character of its inhabitants; but it may be readily admitted that if two savage races of equal mental endowments, and with the same capacity for civilization, were subject to two distinct sets of laws, the one mild and favourable to the development of civilization, the other blood-thirsty and opposed to it, the former race might gradually be brought

to a knowledge of Christianity and civilization; whilst precisely similar efforts made with regard to the latter might be attended with no beneficial result.

11. Again, it would be unfair to consider the laws of the natives of Australia as any indication of the real character of this people; for many races who were at one period subject to the most barbarous laws, have, since new institutions have been introduced amongst them, taken their rank among the civilized nations of the earth.

12. To punish the Aborigines severely for the violation of laws of which they are ignorant, would be manifestly cruel and unjust; but to punish them in the first instance slightly, for the violation of these laws, would inflict no great injury on them; whilst, by always punishing them when guilty of a crime, without reference to the length of period that had elapsed between its perpetration and their apprehension, at the same time fully explaining to them the measure of punishment that would await them in the event of a second commission of the same fault, would teach them gradually the laws to which they are henceforth to be amenable; and would show them that crime was always eventually (although it might be remotely) followed by punishment.

13. I imagine that this course would be more merciful than that at present adopted; viz. to punish them for the violation of a law they are ignorant of, when this violation affects an European; and yet to allow them to commit this crime as often as they like, when it only regards themselves. For this latter course teaches them, not that certain actions, such, for instance, as murder, &c., are generally criminal, but only that they are criminal when exercised towards the white people; and the impression consequently excited in their minds is, that these acts only excite our detestation when exercised towards ourselves; and that their criminality consists, not in having committed a certain odious action, but in having violated our prejudices.

14. In the vicinity of towns, where there is a certain judicial force, and where, on account of the facility of obtaining food, the natives always congregate, it would, by a steady and determined line of conduct, be comparatively easy to enforce an observance of the British laws; but even partially to attain this object in the remote and thinly-peopled districts, it is necessary that each colony should possess an efficient mounted police; a portion of whom should be constantly in movement from district to district; whilst another portion, resident in a central situation, should be ready to act instantly in any direction where their presence was required. I do not apprehend that this body need be numerous; for their utility would depend more on their activity and efficiency than on their numbers. It is absolutely necessary, for the cause of humanity and good order, that such a force should exist; for so long as distant settlers are left unprotected, and are compelled to take care of and avenge themselves, so long must great barbarities necessarily be committed; and the only way to prevent great crimes

on the part of the natives, and massacres of these poor creatures as the punishment of such crimes, is to check and punish their excesses in their infancy. It is only after becoming emboldened by frequent petty successes that they have hitherto committed those crimes which have drawn down so fearful a vengeance upon them.

15. The greatest obstacle that presents itself in considering the application of the British laws to these Aborigines, is the fact, that from their ignorance of the nature of an oath, or of the obligations it imposes, they are not competent to give evidence before a court of justice; and hence, in many cases, it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to obtain evidence on which a prisoner could be convicted.

16. One mode of evading this difficulty would be, to empower the court to receive evidence from natives in all causes relating solely to themselves, without the witness being sworn; only allowing testimony of this nature to hold good when borne out by very strong circumstantial evidence. Secondly, to empower the court always to receive evidence from natives called on by a native prisoner in his defence, such evidence being subject to the beforenamed restrictions.

17. The fact of the natives being unable to give testimony in a court of justice is a great hardship on them, and they consider it as such. The reason that occasions their disability for the performance of this function is at present quite beyond their comprehension, and it is impossible to explain it to them. I have been a personal witness to a case in which a native was most undeservedly punished, from the circumstance of the natives, who were the only persons who could speak to certain exculpatory remarks, not being permitted to give their evidence.

18. There are certain forms in our colonial courts of justice, as at present conducted, which it is impossible to make a savage comprehend. I attended one quarter-sessions, at which a number of natives were tried on a great variety of charges. Several of them were induced to plead guilty; and on this admission of their having committed the crime, sentence was pronounced upon them. But when others denied their guilt, and found that this denial produced no corresponding result in their favour, whilst, at the same time they were not permitted to bring forward other natives to deny it also, and to explain the matter for them, they became perfectly confounded. I was subsequently applied to by several intelligent natives to explain this mystery to them, but I failed in giving such an explanation as would satisfy them.

19. The natives being ignorant of the laws, of the forms of our courts of justice, of the language in which the proceedings are conducted, and the sentence pronounced upon them, it would appear that but a very imperfect protection is afforded them, by having present in the court merely an interpreter, (very often an ignorant man,) who knows nothing of legal proceedngs, and can be but very imperfectly acquainted with the native language. It must also be borne in mind that the natives are not tried by a jury of

their peers, but by a jury having interests directly opposed to their own, and who can scarcely avoid being in some degree prejudiced against native offenders. From these considerations I would suggest, that it should be made binding upon the local government, in all instances, (or at least in such instances as affect life,) to provide a counsel to defend native prisoners.

20. Some other principal preventives to the civilization of the Aborigines, in addition to those I have already stated, are—

First—The existence of an uncertain and irregular demand for their labour: thus they may have one day sufficient opportunity afforded them for the exertion of their industry; whilst the next day their services are not required, so that they are compelled once more to have recourse to their former irregular and wandering habits.

Secondly—Their generally receiving a very inadequate reward for the services they render: this, combined with their natural fondness for the bush, induces them to prefer that mode of subsistence which, whilst it is infinitely more agreeable and less laborious, procures for them nearly as great a reward as hiring with white people.

Thirdly—Their not being taught that different values are attached to different degrees of labour, as well as to the skill and neatness with which it is performed.

21. These impediments might all either be removed or modified in some districts by the establishment of native institutions and schools; but in forming a general plan for their removal, which would be equally applicable to all parts of a colony, a very novel difficulty presents itself:—

22. Imagining that a native child is perfectly capable of being civilized, let it be also granted, that from proper preventive measures having been adopted, this child has nothing to fear from the vengeance of the other natives, so that it stands, in these respects, nearly, or altogether, in the position of a European.

23. If this native child is a boy, who is to pay the individual who undertakes to teach him some calling the fee usually given with an apprentice? Who will indemnify this person for the time he spends in instructing the boy, before he can derive any benefit from his labour; or for the risk he incurs of the boy's services being bestowed elsewhere, as soon as they are worth having.

24. Until this difficulty is got over it appears evident that the natives will only be employed in herding cattle, or in the lowest order of manual labour, which requires no skill, and for which the reward they receive will be so small as scarcely to offer an inducement to them to quit their present wandering mode of life.

25. The remedy I would suggest for this evil would have another advantage, besides a tendency to ameliorate it; for it would give the settlers a great and direct interest in the Aborigines, without entailing any expense upon the Government. It is founded on the following fact:—

26. The Government, in order to create a supply of labour in the colonies, have been in the habit of giving certain rewards to those individuals who introduced labourers into them. Now it would appear, that he who reclaims one of the Aborigines, not only adds another labourer to those who are already in the colony, but confers such a benefit on his fellow-settlers, by rendering one who was before a useless and dangerous being, a serviceable member of the community, that this circumstance alone entitles him to a reward.

27. I would therefore propose, that on the production of the hereafternamed documents, a settler should receive a certificate, entitling him to a certain sum, which should either be allowed to reckon towards the completion of location duties, or else, as a remission certificate in the purchase of land, or, in lieu of this, a grant of land; and that this sum, or grant, should be regulated according to a table specifying the various circumstances that are likely to occur, and drawn up by the local Government of each place, where such regulations should be introduced.

28. The documents to which I allude are these: First, a deposition before the nearest magistrate to such settler's house, that a native or natives have been resident with him constantly for the last six months, and have been employed in stated species of labour. Secondly. A certificate from the Government Resident of the district, that to the best of his belief such statement is true; for that, on his visiting this settler's house, the stated numbers of natives were there, and were respectively occupied in the kinds of labour described. Thirdly. A certificate from the Protector of Aborigines, that he has visited this settler's house, that the stated numbers of natives were resident there, and appeared to be progressing in the knowledge of that branch of industry in which they were respectively stated to be employed.

29. It would be further necessary, that any settler who intended to endeavour to reclaim natives should give a short notice to the Protector of Aborigines, previously to the commencement of the first six months.

30. Could this plan be brought into operation, the work of the civilization of the Aborigines would at once be commenced upon a great scale, it would not be confined to a single institution, but a variety of individuals, endowed with different talents and capacities for this work, would at once be employed on it. It is, indeed, rather suited and intended for the outskirts of civilization, thinly populated by settlers, than for towns; yet it is applicable to both situations; whilst its direct operation would be to induce the settler adequately to remunerate the native, as well as to provide him with a constant supply of labour, and to use every exertion, by kind and proper treatment, to attach him, for as long a period as possible, to his establishment.

31. In considering the kinds of labour in which it would be most advisable to engage natives, it should be borne in mind, that in remote districts, where the European population is small, it would be imprudent to in-

duce many natives to congregate at any one point; and the kinds of labour in which they should be there engaged, ought to be of such a nature as to have a tendency to scatter them over the country, and to distribute them amongst the separate establishments.

32. Whilst in the well-peopled districts, where a force sufficient both to protect and control the Aborigines exists, they should be induced to assemble in great numbers; for they work much more readily when employed in masses: and by thus assembling them on one point, their numbers are diminished in those portions of the colony which have a small European population, and they are concentrated at a spot where proper means for their improvement can be provided.

33. The first of these principles has been strictly attended to in the plan proposed in the 27th and following paragraphs of this Report: the second has been carried into successful operation in Western Australia.

34. In order that the work on which the natives are employed in the vicinity of towns should be of the most advantageous nature, it is necessary that it should be productive of benefit both to themselves and to the Government which employs them, so that it cannot be complained of as a useless expense; whilst, at the same time, it should be of such a kind as to accord with that love of excitement and change which is so peculiar to this people.

35. Both of these ends would be attained by employing the Aborigines either in opening new roads or in repairing old lines of communication: indeed, this mode of employment is singularly suited to the habits of these people: they might be kept constantly moving from post to post, thus varying the scene of their operations: one portion of the party might be employed in hunting with kangaroo-dogs, or fishing, in order to supply the others with fresh meat; and the species of labour in which the main body were engaged, might, if they wished it, be changed once or twice in the course of the day, to prevent their being wearied by the monotonous character of their employment.

36. Among other enactments which I believe would have a tendency to promote the civilization of the Aborigines, and which are applicable to those districts in which, for some time, a great intercourse has existed between the natives and the Europeans, are the following:—

37. "That any native who could produce a certificate (from the Protector of Aborigines) of having been constantly employed at the house of any settler for a period of not less than three years, should be entitled to a grant of land; the extent of which should be fixed by the local Government of the colony to which such native should belong; and that, if possible, this grant should be given in that district to which this native, by birth, belonged.

"That, in addition to this grant, he should receive a sum of money, the amount of which should also be fixed by the local Government, and which should be drawn from the funds raised by the sale of Government lands;

and which should be expended in goats, poultry, &c., so as to enable the native in some manner to stock his land.

"That any native having only one wife, who produced a certificate of the civil marriage contract having been performed between himself and her by the Resident of the district to which he belonged, should be entitled to a small reward.

"That any natives who registered duly the birth of any of their children should be entitled to a small reward.

"That some competent person should be paid to instruct two native boys, in such a manner as to qualify them to act as interpreters in courts of law: and that as soon as they are found competent they should be employed for this purpose.

"I believe that many other regulations similar to these would be found to produce a very beneficial effect."

NEW ZEALAND.

The Committee refer, with peculiar interest and anxiety, to the situation and prospects of the New Zealanders; and cannot but regard, with feelings of deep concern and apprehension, the progress of emigration to this distant colony, unless measures be taken by which the rights and property of the natives are acknowledged and properly secured.

We are gratified in being able to state, from the various communications which we have received, that the natives are an agricultural people, and accustomed to fixed habitations; and that there exists a disposition and an aptitude, on their part, to enter into social communion, and to become citizens of the same state with the colonists, whose numbers now amount to about 10,000. Ernest Dieffenbach, M.D., late naturalist to the New Zealand Company, who has had abundant opportunity, by a sojourn among the natives of New Zealand, of arriving at a just estimate of their character, supports this view; in a letter relating to them, he says:—

"They are a people decidedly in a nearer relation to us than any other; they are endowed with uncommonly good intellectual faculties; they are an agricultural nation, with fixed domicile, and have reached the furthest point of civilization which they possibly could, without the aid of other nations, or without the example of history. They mix easily with the Europeans, which has been effected to such a degree, that, by future immigrations, an entire mixture must be foreseen."

We are also informed that these Aborigines evince a strong desire to be able to read and write; and we understand that, out of their population, which is now computed at 120,000, one-third of the whole have already learnt to read, and that several thousand testaments in their own language are now possessed by them; most of which they have obtained from the missionaries, principally in exchange for articles of food.

We have recently received from an intelligent and benevolently disposed settler in New Zealand, and one upon whose statements we can place full reliance, some information of a highly interesting and important character, relating to the subject of native reserves of land, and the native territorial rights. The beneficial effects which had been anticipated as the result of reserving a tenth, or rather, as it turns out to be, an eleventh of the territory of New Zealand for the exclusive use and benefit of its native inhabitants, have, we are informed by this communication, hitherto been very much frustrated, by the mode adopted in selecting these reserves. In alluding to this subject, the writer observes:

"In the purchase deeds, as well as in the published documents of the Company, there is contained a pledge that one-tenth of the land acquired should be set apart for the use of the natives. This pledge has been, in form, redeemed; but in substance it has, it seems to me, been widely departed from. Reserves for the benefit of the natives have been made; but, unfortunately, they have been made in such a manner as to produce few or none of those immediate results which were anticipated by the intelligent and philanthropic individuals who devised the plan. In the harbour of Port Nicholson, for instance, there are nine Pahs, or native villages; of these only three have been selected as native reserves, and one is laid out as a public reserve, leaving five which have become the property of private individuals. In the immediate vicinity of the harbour, there were, perhaps, about five or six hundred acres, which might be considered as occupied by the natives for the purpose of cultivation; not that the whole of this was under culture, at any one time, but that this quantity had been reduced into possession by individual natives. Of this quantity certainly not one-third has been reserved for them; I believe I might say not one-sixth. And, unfortunately, although it may be that the land which has been selected as native reserves, may be, in quality and position, of fair average

value, it is so selected as to possess, with only one exception, that of Victoria, but little utility for the present purposes of the natives.

"There are, in the immediate vicinity of the harbour of Port Nicholson, about five hundred natives, who are almost absolutely dependent upon the products of their own cultivation for subsistence. The land reserved for them is comparatively useless. They have no beasts of burthen, and no means of transporting produce except in their canoes, or upon their own backs. Consequently, nearly all their cultivation was along the banks of the rivers, and within a very short distance of their settlements. Land, however valuable in itself, if situated at a distance of four or five miles, is useless to them. The majority of these assert, that they have not sold their land, and it has happened, that the only tribe within the district who admit the sale, is also the only tribe whose Pah and potato-grounds have been maintained inviolate. Those who deny the sale, find themselves gradually thrust out of all the land they have been accustomed to cultivate, and which they considered as their own peculiar property. Hardly are they allowed to take out of the soil the crop they have planted; and as soon as the crop is taken out, they are informed that the land is no longer theirs, and that they must go elsewhere.

"It must not be imagined that the land required for the use of the natives could not be reserved without injury to the settlement—no doubt assertions of this nature will be made, and it may even be asserted, that there is an absolute incompatibility between the preservation of the natives in their old modes of life, and the progress and prosperity of English colonization. Nothing can be more unfounded. Out of nearly 10,000 acres of fertile land which have been surveyed and selected in the immediate neighbourhood of Port Nicholson, six hundred would have amply sufficed for the present wants of the natives. Out of 1,100 acres of which the town is composed, only eight are occupied by the native Pahs. Had the land actually occupied, or reclaimed by the natives, been reserved, it would, no doubt, have been rather more than one-tenth in value, though far less than one-tenth in extent, of the land which some of their chiefs nominally added, and which the New Zealand Company now claims, under that cession. But this reserve would have satisfied the natives, and it would have enabled the New Zealand Company to obtain a valid title to their possessions. That such reserves are not made, is absolutely unaccountable.

"As an illustration of the mode in which the native reserves in this district have been selected, I will proceed to describe the general character of the most important, in reference to the various native settlements around the harbour.

"The natives of the Pah Te Aro on the southern shore of what is now termed Lambton Harbour, who were never consulted as to the sale, and not one of whom signed the deed conveying the land to the New Zealand Company, had cultivated from sixty to eighty acres of land on the hills imme-

diately in the rear of their Pah, and had gardens on the space now occupied by the town. Every one of their clearings and gardens, as well as their Pah, has been selected for the purchases under the Company, and they have been required to give up possession. This, however, they have not yet done. There is one section immediately behind their clearings; and there are three others at a distance of about two miles further, which are, however, of little value, except for grazing. They do, nevertheless, possess in the one section in the rear of their present clearings, one valuable section, which, in a year or two, they will probably occupy and cultivate; but it would have been more just and more prudent to secure to them the ground they had actually cleared. The natives of Kumutoto, on the west shore of Lambton Harbour, have been allowed to retain one acre on which part of their Pah stood; but they have not, within all their district, a single acre of country land. The natives of the Pah Pissitea have retained their Pah, because it has been selected as a public reserve, and there are about twenty acres of native reserves within that part of the town which belongs to them; but they have not a single country section. The natives of Tiakiwai have neither Pah nor country land; all has been taken from them. The natives of Kaiwarawam, whose Pah, situated beyond the confines of the town, might have been reserved, without the slightest public inconvenience, have had their Pah, and the whole of their cleared grounds, taken from them. The same course has been pursued with the natives of Ngawranga. The natives of Pitoni, more fortunate than any of their brethren, have had three sections, including their Pah, and the whole, or nearly the whole of their clear ings reserved. The natives of Waiwetu have neither Pah nor clearings left them. Two sections have been reserved in our part of the land they claim, which will eventually possess a very considerable value; but, at present, less than a fifth of these reserves is available, the remainder being a swamp. There are also two other sections, out of which perhaps fifteen or twenty acres would be available, and upon which they formerly had some small potato-grounds; but these have been abandoned since the death of their chief Pichakawa, who was murdered there by a hostile tribe, about two years and a half ago. I should qualify my statement with regard to these last, when I said, that all their clearings had been taken away, since the two sections last referred to did contain some clearings. The land thus cleared, however, belonged to the murdered chieftain, and had been utterly abandoned by his family before the selection."

The statement of another emigrant of the first class is perfectly in accordance with the preceding, when he observes: "The New Zealand Company intended well when they desired to set apart a tenth of the land purchased of Government for native reserves, but they committed a fatal error

when they subjected the choice of their reserves to lot. All the land *hitherto* occupied by the natives, either as villages, burial-grounds, and cultivated grounds, should have been reserved inalienably for their use, and the difference between the extent of such grounds and the one-tenth, might have been subject to the ballot, for their use hereafter, in addition to what they at present occupied."

The important subject of the native territorial rights, the annihilation of which is now threatened, is undergoing the investigation of a Commissioner appointed especially for that purpose, by the British Government. Nevertheless, when we consider the difficulties of the question, and the influence of persons whose interests are opposed to those of the natives, it is manifest, that, unless the just claims of the Aborigines of New Zealand be strenuously pleaded for, by the advocates of humanity and justice, there is much reason to fear, that another instance of the abuse of superior intelligence and power, on the part of the white man, in dispossessing his less informed and less powerful brethren of their property and lands, will be added to the already long catalogue of sins which darken the historical page of English colonization. Upon this subject the writer says:—

"There has prevailed in England an extraordinary misconception, with regard to the opinions and practices of the New Zealanders, in relation to the sale of land. It is very true, that immense tracts have been nominally purchased by the agent of the New Zealand Company, and by others, for very trifling and inadequate considerations. It may, however, be doubted, whether the parties by whom the sale was made had any notion, however imperfect, of the sense in which the transaction was understood by the buyers. The utmost which they can be conceived to have understood was, that within certain specified limits, the party purchasing should be allowed to settle, upon the same terms as the members of the tribe owning the land. They might have believed that they were conferring rights of citizenship, so to speak, under which the stranger who reclaimed and cultivated land, might be guaranteed in the enjoyment of the land which he had thus appropriated. Or, as is equally probable, it was regarded as no more than that the chiefs who signed the deed and received the price, conceded to the other contracting party the right of purchasing, from its actual owner, any land which he might desire to obtain for use. At any rate

whatever they did mean, no doubt can be felt, by any person acquainted with their usages, that they did not mean to give to any one the right to drive them from their Pahs; to occupy and appropriate the ground they had cleared and cultivated, and to restrain them from the liberty of using any unoccupied ground, for the purpose of raising the food necessary to their very existence. Abundant evidence can be furnished to prove that this could not have been their intention. And, if it were more doubtful than is actually the case, they would be entitled to the protection of a court of equity, against the consequences of their own ignorance and improvidence; nor could the British Government and legislature, fairly or honourably, affirm a contract founded in misconception, and pregnant with injury.

"The two principal purchases by the New Zealand Company have been that of the harbour and district of Port Nicholson, and that from the chiefs of the Kawia tribe, of all the land within certain limits defined by degrees of latitude. The former is estimated to comprise about one hundred thousand acres, and the latter includes within its boundaries, nearly twenty millions of acres. There is also a purchase of land at Wanganui, and one at Teranaki, both of which are known included in terms, in the limits of the purchase from the Kawia tribe. To the two first purchases, of which alone I am at present competent to speak, there are objections arising; first, from the nature of the contract itself, and secondly, from the manner in which the pledges given to the natives have been carried out. In the first place, the purchase has been made from a few of the principal chiefs only, although there is not a single freeman, or Rangatira, who has not an absolute right to portions of the land, subject to no interference or control, either on the part of individual chiefs, or of the whole body of the tribe. It is asserted by the great majority of the freemen and some of the principal chiefs of the two tribes, from whom these purchases have been made, with what truth I cannot pretend to affirm, that they did not consent to the sale of their own land; nor even to the sale of the unoccupied portions of the territory, which might be regarded as the common property of the tribe

"The names of very few are attached to the purchase-deeds, and these, without exception, admit that they only signed for themselves. Those who have not signed the deeds, assert that they were no parties to the sale; and of those who did, the majority now pretend that they were not aware of the nature and intention of the documents.

"To confirm the titles of the European settlers would be to deprive the original occupiers of the soil, of land which they have never sold, and without which they can hardly subsist. It will be for the English Government to decide between these conflicting claims. In this place, if any questions arising out of them are to be decided by a jury of Englishmen, there would be but small probability of justice being done to the natives. In whatever manner the difficulty may be solved, there can be but one

opinion as to the impolicy of the proceedings by which this dilemma has been created.

"The originators of the New Zealand Company, framing their plan in England, without other materials upon which to base their opinions, than such as were supplied by books written with far different objects, or were gathered from the description of parties whose attention had never been directed to the peculiar circumstances in the country, upon a full knowledge of which any plan for the benefit of the natives ought to have been founded could only frame a plan in outline, to be filled up on the spot by their agent. That plan proceeded upon two assumptions. Firstly, that all the land within certain extensive districts would be purchased for them; and, secondly, that the different tribes occupied an extent of land quite disproportioned to their wants, of which the largest portion might be appropriated to the European settlers, without any inconvenience. Both of these assumptions have proved fallacious.

"The New Zealanders never have consented to the sale of all their lands; and could not, in fact, conceive of such a bargain; and although the land occupied by many of the tribes is far more extensive than they required; yet it is only in respect of particular portions that an appropriation of the land to the English settler can be made, without producing great injury to the native.

"With regard to the first point, all the natives of Port Nicholson, I believe without a single exception, agree that many, if not a majority of the landholders in the district, did not consent to the sale of their land to the agent of the New Zealand Company. And they all assert, what, from my observation of the natives here and in other parts, I am quite certain is the case, that every free man has a right to particular pieces of ground, the boundaries of which are as well defined and as rigidly maintained as any estate in the most civilized country. They further agree that no one person however great may be his power, has a right to interfere with, much less to dispose of the property of any freeman without his consent; and that even the majority of the tribe have, in this respect, no power over the minority, or even over a single dissentient party. According to the customs of the New Zealanders, therefore, the New Zealand Company have no title to the greater portion of the lands which they have professed to sell. And it may be stated with confidence, that nothing short of an Act of Parliament could divest the native proprietor of his title,—nor that without an adequate compensation. The islands of New Zealand, by whatever title they may belong to the British crown, have not been acquired in any manner which would operate to the extinguishment of private right to property, or could enable the crown to grant lands previously occupied under a title, valid according to the recognized customs which are the laws of the country. Not merely, therefore, is the assumption of the New Zealand Company, that they had extinguished the native title to the large tracts nominally included within

their purchases, quite unfounded; but the defect in their title, resulting from the omission on the part of their agent to complete his purchase, does not seem susceptible of any remedy, short of an act of parliament. And assuredly the legislature of Great Britain will pause, before it takes from five hundred individuals—subjects of the empire, and entitled to all the rights of citizenship, settled in fixed habitations, and cultivating their own lands—the six hundred or seven hundred acres needful to their subsistence.

"With regard to the second purchase, that from some of the principal chiefs of the Kawia tribe, it is difficult to conceive that any claim can be seriously founded upon it. The deed professes to comprise all the land between the 38th degree of south latitude, on the west coast, and the 43rd degree of south latitude, including the possessions of several independent tribes, as well as all the places occupied by the tribe to which the parties to the deed belonged. To suppose that the persons who signed this deed had any idea of its nature, would be opposed to anything which experience has disclosed with reference to the native character. And with regard to this alleged purchase, the chiefs, who were parties to the contract, have vigorously, and hitherto successfully, resisted every attempt on the part of the purchasers under the Company to settle upon their territories. In Port Nicholson the inconveniences resulting from the pretensions of the New Zealand Company to dispose of land to which they have no valid title, have been mainly felt by the natives. In the neighbouring district of Pararua, alleged to have been purchased from the Kawia tribe, the inconvenience has fallen upon the colonists."

The attention of the Directors of the Company, in this country, has been called to these points, and it is believed that they have obtained their favourable consideration; yet much must depend on the Colonial Government, and on the disposition entertained towards the natives by the colonists themselves, points to which those who have friends who have already emigrated to New Zealand, or may be about to do so, would do well to keep their attention alive.

TASMANIA.

It is with feelings of much sorrow that the Committee advert to the Aborigines of Van Dieman's Land. These natives, in 1834, were all (excepting four persons) driven, by order of the Government, from their hunting grounds to Flinder's Island, and we find, by the latest accounts, are now reduced to but a small remnant of fifty-seven persons. This

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